THE COMMUNIST

Vol. XII. NOVEMBER, 1933 Copy C No. 11

SURPLUS DUPLICATE

FROM THE CONTENTS

Entering the 17th Year of the Victorious Proletarian Revolution *(Editorial)*

The Seal of N.R.A. on the A. F. of L. Convention . . . . . *Bill Dunne*

Resolution of the 17th Central Committee Meeting of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

For an Intensive Struggle Against Right Opportunism . . . . . *E. Edwards*

The Coming Pan-American Conference at Montevideo . . . . . *Lucile Perry*

Resolution and Program of the American League Against Fascism and War

ARCHIVED BY MARXISTS.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW THEY DID IT!

How Did the Old Bolsheviks Work and Live? How Did They Build the Bolshevik Party? How Did They Prepare for the October Revolution?

Read These Pamphlets and Books

"Bolshevik History" Library

BOLSHEVIKS ON TRIAL, *by S. Tchernomordik* ..... .10

BOOK PUBLISHING UNDER TSARISM, *by M. S. Kedrov* ..... .10

ESCAPE FROM THE GALLOWS, *by Felix Cohn* ..... .10

PROVOCATEURS I HAVE KNOWN, *by C. Bobrovskaya* ..... .10

THE STRIKE OF THE DREDGING FLEET, 1905, *by Peter Nikiforov* ..... .10

UNEMPLOYED COUNCILS IN ST. PETERSBURG IN 1906, *by Sergei Malyshev* ..... .10

THE REVOLT ON THE ARMOURED CRUISER "POTEMKIN", *by A. Kanatchikov* ..... .05

FROM THE FEBRUARY REVOLUTION TO THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, *by A. F. Ilyin Genevsky* ..... .15

BOLSHEVIK SMUGGLERS, *by S. Shaumyan* ..... .10

"Brief Biography" Series

IVAN BABUSHKIN—LENIN'S FRIEND, *by C. Bobrovskaya* ... .10

Y. M. SVERDLOV—*First President of the Labor Republic, by C. Bobrovskaya* ..... .10

KAMO—THE LIFE OF A GREAT REVOLUTIONIST, *by R. Oblenskaya* ..... .10

DAYS WITH LENIN, *by Maxim Gorky* ..... .25

LIFE OF STALIN—*A Symposium* ..... .20

THE BOLSHEVIKS IN THE TSARIST DUMA, *by A. Radayev* Regular, $2; popular, $1

Order from:

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Sta. D (50 East 13th St.) New York City

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE COMMUNIST

A Magazine of the Theory and Practice of Marxism-Leninism

Published Monthly by the

Communist Party of the United States of America

Entered as second class matter November 2, 1927, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. 209

VOL. XII NOVEMBER, 1933 No. 11

CONTENTS

ENTERING THE 17TH YEAR OF THE VICTORIOUS PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION 1059
EDITORIAL

THE SEAL OF N.R.A. ON THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION 1078
By BILL DUNNE

RESOLUTION OF THE 17TH CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A. 1088

FOR AN INTENSIVE STRUGGLE AGAINST RIGHT OPPORTUNISM 1096
By E. EDWARDS

THE COMING PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE AT MONTEVIDEO 1108
By LUCILE PERRY

RESOLUTION AND PROGRAM OF THE AMERICAN LEAGUE AGAINST FASCISM AND WAR 1120

A PROGRAM FOR SPEEDING UP THE TRAINING OF NEW LEADERSHIP IN DISTRICTS AND SECTIONS 1125

ON THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE UNITED FARMERS' LEAGUE 1140
By J. BARNETT

Make all checks, money orders, and correspondence to THE COMMUNIST, P. O. Box 148, Station D, (50 East 13th Street), New York. Subscription rates $2.00 a year; $1.00 for six months; foreign and Canada $2.50 a year. Single copies 20 cents.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LENIN
ON THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

6 PAMPHLETS COVER WHOLE COURSE OF REVOLUTION OF 1917

LETTERS FROM AFAR
On the February Revolution. ■ 15c

THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT IN OUR REVOLUTION
A program for the development of the Revolution. ■ 15c

THE APRIL CONFERENCE
Lenin's speeches at the historic meetings of the Bolsheviks. ■ 20c

THE THREATENING CATASTROPHE AND HOW TO FIGHT IT
War, famine, chaos and the Bolshevik way out ■ 20c

WILL THE BOLSHEVIKS RETAIN STATE POWER?
A polemic against doubters and opponents. ■ 15c

ON THE EVE OF OCTOBER
Lenin prepares the Party for the insurrection. ■ 15c

4 BOOKS BY LENIN COVERING THE COURSE OF THE REVOLUTION

THE REVOLUTION OF 1917
2 VOLUMES $3.00 each

TOWARD THE SEIZURE OF POWER
2 VOLUMES $2.50 each
(8 books of Lenin's Writings, contained in the Special Set . . . . . $11.75)

Also

ON GUARD FOR THE SOVIET UNION,
By Maxim Gorky
Introduction by Romain Rolland. Cloth, $1.50; Boards, $0.75

MEMORIES OF LENIN, *by* N. K. Krupskaya
Two volumes. Cloth, $1.50 each; Boards, $0.75 each

MEMOIRS OF A BOLSHEVIK, *by* O. Piatnitsky
Cloth, $2.00; Boards, $1.00

Order from:
WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS
P. O. Box 148, Sta. D (50 East 13th St.), New York City

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Entering the 17th Year of the Victorious Proletarian Revolution

IN NOVEMBER of this year the proletariat and peasantry of the Soviet Union will celebrate the sixteenth anniversary of the successful overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the landlords and the establishment, upon the ruins of the Czarist empire, of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. In November of this year the workers of the world will celebrate the victorious advance of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union—the Fatherland of the world proletariat. As the toiling masses of the Soviet Union and of the world celebrate the sixteenth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution they hail also the great historic achievements in the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan of Socialist Construction.

The American workers and toiling farmers, entering upon the fifth year of the deepening capitalist crisis, with a winter of misery and hunger staring them in the face, realize with a growing consciousness the deception behind the capitalist schemes of the Roosevelt Administration and in this realization their gaze is instinctively turned to the land of the Soviets, where before the eyes of the world there is rising a planned Socialist economy.

The launching of the Second Five-Year Plan of Socialist Construction was made possible by and was the necessary consequence of the successful fulfilment of the first Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R.

Planning is inherent in the nature of the Soviet economic system which is established upon the eradication of the basic contradiction of capitalism—the contradiction between the social character of production and private capitalist appropriation. The nationalization under the dictatorship of the proletariat, which put at the disposal of the toiling population the factories and the land, the system of distribution and financing, the monopoly of foreign trade, rendered it possible and necessary for the economy of the Soviet Union to be a planned economy.

LAUNCHING THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

By 1928 the restoration period of the economy of the U.S.S.R. was completed. The moment had arrived for the transition to the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

task of reconstructing the national economy upon the positions of Socialism. The moment had come for transforming the U.S.S.R. from a country with a predominantly agrarian economy lacking in self-sufficiency and dependent on the surrounding hostile capitalist world, into a country with an industrial economy, technically re-equipped in industry and agriculture on the basis of modern large-scale production so as to overtake and surpass economically the advanced capitalist countries, so as to remove the base for the restoration of capitalism, so as to increase to the utmost capacity the forces of defence against military intervention, so as to socialize the countryside by means of large-scale collective farming, so as to establish the basis for Socialism in the Soviet Union.

In endorsing the First Five-Year Plan the Sixteenth Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Fifth Congress of the Soviets guided themselves by the teachings of Lenin. Lenin had declared:

> "As long as we live in a small peasant country there is a firmer economic basis for capitalism in Russia than for Communism. This must be remembered. Everyone who has carefully observed the life of the countryside and compares it with the life of the town knows that we have not torn up the roots of capitalism and that we have not undermined the foundation, the basis of the internal enemy. The latter rests upon petty farming, and there is only one way to undermine him, and that is, to transfer the economy of the country, including agriculture, to a new technical base, to the technical base of modern large-scale production. . . . Only when the country will be electrified, only when industry, agriculture and transport will be placed on the basis of modern large-scale industry, only then shall we be finally victorious."

IN STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WORLD BOURGEOISIE

The First Five-Year Plan was not carried through without a fierce class struggle on many fronts against the forces of the bourgeoisie. For the construction of Socialism can be achieved only through the complete destruction of the remnants of the old order.

The capitalist elements inside the Soviet Union had the support of the counter-revolution in the whole world. It was not accidental, but historically inevitable, that the launching and the progress of the First Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union were met by the unleashing of a series of plots aiming at counter-revolutionary intervention on the part of the surrounding capitalist world. Each advance in the course of carrying out the Five-Year Plan increased the fury of the interventionists.

The decayed elements of the old ruling classes, engaged in the Soviet industries, came out more boldly in their organization

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of wrecking, sabotage, food poisoning. Elaborate plots were devised to cripple the industrial life of the country, to damage the collective farms, to curtail the food supply, to sow discontent among the toiling masses—all this with the objective of weakening the Soviet power internally so as to help pave the way for imperialist intervention. But the iron leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, spurring on the vigilance of the workers, resulted in the unmasking of the leaders and organizers of these conspiracies. In a series of trials there was revealed by the culprits themselves the fact that these organizers of sabotage and wrecking were working with and were in the direct pay of certain big imperialist powers.

The wreckers in the industries and in the organizations for food supply in the cities and the kulak elements that carried on murderous campaigns against the collectives on the land were defeated during the course of the First Five-Year Plan. From these defeats of the capitalist conspiracies it was possible for the Soviet Power to carry the offensive against those elements to the final stage—their abolition as a class, which means the liquidation of classes in general.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

The struggle against the bourgeoisie had to be waged not only against the enemy without, but against the carriers of bourgeois influence within the ranks of the proletariat and the peasantry, within the ranks of the Communist Party itself.

On the one hand were the Right opportunists, those who, while professing to admit the planned character of Soviet economy, set themselves against the tempo of industrialization, those who resisted the transformation of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry from a trade basis to a production basis, *i.e.*, to an alliance in which the urban proletariat would produce not merely for exchange to meet the immediate personal needs of the rural population, but to serve the production requirements of the peasantry (machine and tractor stations, fertilizers, improved seed, etc.)

The struggle against the Right opportunists was the struggle for the liquidation of the kulak class as against the theory that the kulaks would grow peacefully into Socialism; it was the struggle for the Socialist transformation of the village as against the program of consolidating private economy on the land.

On the other hand, there were the Trotskyists, who denied the possibility of building Socialism in one country—a necessary outcome of their fundamental denial of the Leninist principle of the uneven development of capitalism. Followed to its logical con-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clusion, this contention means that in the absence of a successful world revolution in the near future, the Soviet system will have to give way to the restoration of capitalism. Trotskyism further means a denial of the historic role of the peasantry as an ally of the proletariat in the building of Socialism, a condemnation of the peasantry as a reactionary mass. This in essence means a lack of faith in the capacity of the proletariat to transform the role of the peasantry into that of ally of the revolution, to lead the peasantry in the work of Socialist construction.

The proletariat of the Soviet Union gave its answer to the opponents of the Right and the "Left" by fulfilling the Five-Year Plan in four years.

The proletariat of the Soviet Union, led by the Communist Party, under the firm guidance of Comrade Stalin, who has continued and further developed the work of Lenin in the epoch of Socialist construction, overcame the counter-revolutionary resistance of the Right and Trotskyist opportunists. By its heroic persistance, by its great tenacity of purpose, by the self-sacrifice, the ardor and the mass initiative expressing itself in zealous Socialist competition and shock-brigade work, the millions of workers and collective farmers, old and young, demonstrated the tremendous creative power of the toiling masses in an economic system of their own achievement in which the trammels of bourgeois production relations have been shaken off, in which the colossal productive force of the working class is liberated for full play under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

In launching the Second Five-Year Plan at the opening of this year, the proletariat of the Soviet Union undertook as its fundamental political task the final liquidation of capitalist elements and of classes in general. It undertook the complete destruction of the relics of capitalism in economy and in social consciousness by involving the entire toiling population in city and country-side on the basis of highly developed industrial technique and of increased collectivization as conscious and active builders of Socialism. It undertook the transformation of the entire national economy upon a Socialist basis.

The Second Five-Year Plan was further designed to bring about a general increase in the national income, over which the workers are in complete control, and thereby to achieve a considerable improvement in the well-being of all the toiling population of the Soviet Union. To this end the Plan directed itself to increasing the supplies of articles of necessity by at least doubling

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or trebling the supplies at the end of the First Five-Year Plan.

Thus, while the First Five-Year Plan created the industrial basis for the reconstruction of the national economy, the Second Five-Year Plan set itself the task of achieving the further growth of Socialist production quantitatively and qualitatively heightened in every sphere of national economy.

During the First Five-Year Plan, which was fulfilled in four years, 1,500 new factories and other industrial undertakings were set up and put into operation; 1,820 Soviet farmers were organized and 2,497 tractor and machinery stations were set up. As a result of the First Five-Year Plan, the Soviet Union was placed:

First in the world in the production of tractors.
First in the world in the production of agricultural machinery.
First in the world in the production of combines.
First in Europe in the production of engineering machinery.
First in Europe in the production of pig-iron.
Third in the world in the production of electrical energy.
First in Europe and second in the world in the production of petroleum.
First in the world in the production of peat.
Fourth in the world in the production of coal.
Fourth in the world in the production of the chemical industry.

In the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan the fulfilment of this task is proceeding apace. The first eight months of this year show splendid achievements in the development of industrial enterprises, in the reconstruction of the transport service, in the launching of new vast undertakings of socialized industry, in the technical re-equipment and electrification of agriculture, and in the general Socialist transformation of agrarian economy.

Coinciding with this great technical advance, the standards of life of the masses constantly improve and the cultural level reaches new heights. In the sixteen years since the Bolshevik Revolution the Soviet masses have become converted from culturally backward, downtrodden semi-slaves into the foremost fighters for Socialism.

The workers of the Soviet Union have long since left the hovels, the cellars where they were condemned to live, but the number of workers grows faster than the rapid increase in buildings. Socialism increases the demands of the liberated masses, so that the very successes in increased productivity bring about the problem of meeting increased wants, which in turn spurs productivity forward.

In 1932, in Moscow alone, there were constructed 670 blocks of dwellings. By the end of this year, 892 blocks of dwellings will have been constructed, giving living accommodations with modern conveniences to over 150,000 toilers. In addition, there is

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in process construction of educational institutions, hospitals and various cultural and scientific buildings.

A hundred million peasants, who before the revolution wore rags on their backs and bark shoes on their feet, now wear leather boots and clothing, such as is worn in cities. The increased income of the workers and farmers makes it possible for them to buy more, to raise their standards of life, and their cultural level, which in turn rapidly increases their demands. It is for this reason that one of the chief tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan is the rapid growth of the total volume of production, a still more rapid development of all the productive forces of the country.

THE GAINS IN THE FIRST YEAR

As the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan draws to a close, it is clear that not only is this plan being fulfilled, but, like the First Five-Year Plan, it is, in a number of basic fields, being surpassed.

Heavy industry, as the reports for the first two-thirds of the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan show, has made further progress in every important branch. The key industries, coal, metallurgy, and machine construction, register a steady upward grade. Thus, in August 31 of this year there was an output of 40.6 more coal than in August, 1932, the average daily output exceeding 200,000 tons. For the first eight months of this year the coal production was 111.18% in comparison with the same period a year ago—a fulfilment of 59.2% of the year's plan as against the 50.3% fulfilment in the same period last year.

In metallurgy the steady advance is equally to be noted. In August of this year the daily output of pig iron was over 20,000 tons. In the eight-month period of this year the increase in the output of pig-iron over that of the same period last year is 12.4%. In steel, the average daily output during August of this year was 19,749 tons, while in August, 1932, the daily output was 13,982 —an increase of over 40%.

Great gains were made in automobile and tractor construction. During the period under consideration 25,566 trucks were manufactured in Soviet automobile plants, an increase of 100% over the output in the same period a year ago, and in excess of the Plan figure, which was 25,005. In the production of tractors the number reached during the first eight months of this year was 47,266—an increase of close to 60% over the output for the same period a year ago, and in excess of the Plan figure which was 47,050.

In addition, the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan has

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

given rise to new giants of Socialist industry, such as the Chalyabinsk tractor factory, the colossal engineering works in the Urals, the new canal between the Baltic and the White Seas.

In grain production the Second Five-Year Plan has in its first year shown the carrying through of the Soviet Union's most successful agricultural campaign. While the bourgeoisie, the fascists, the social-fascists, the Vatican, and the Trotskyists have been spreading hobgoblin tales of starvation and cannibalism in the Soviet Union, the bumper Soviet harvest represents a glorious achievement on the agricultural front. The figures for August 31 show that grain had been harvested from an area of 70,251,000 hectares, or 83.8% of the entire seeded area. This area exceeds by 5,500,000 hectares the area harvested by August 31, 1932. Moreover, all of the main agricultural districts have completed their August grain deliveries. These gains are directly attributable to the Soviet economic program sponsored by the Communist Party. For, by the decrees issued in September, 1932, a decisive turn was made toward improving the quality in Soviet agricultural production. In place of the unchecked expansion of the sown area, efforts were thenceforth to be made to increase the yield per hectare. The quality of the seed was improved, and the supply of fertilizers was increased. And, most important of all, there have been set up the political departments of the machine-tractor stations and State farms. For these political departments, which were set up in January of this year, there have been selected 25,000 Communists and Young Communists, technically proficient and politically reliable, whose task it is to promote efficiency in collective agriculture, to train the peasants in the use and repair of the machinery, to guard against sabotage, and, in general, to furnish the collective farmers with a social and political education as an organic part of the building of the Socialist society.

THE RISE IN LIVING AND CULTURAL STANDARDS

Along with these gains there has been a considerable increase in the supply of consumers' goods, although the achievements in light industry have not equaled those in heavy industry. There has been a steady rise in wages and in general living conditions. The average monthly wages rose by more than one third in 1932-1933. The building of Socialism in the Soviet Union, the realization of the Marxist-Leninist teachings, has developed, alongside of the technical level of material production, the cultural level of the toiling masses, building their socialist consciousness with the socialist economy. In Czarist Russia less than half of the children between 8 and 11 years attended school. This year

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

25 million, or 95% of the children attend school—an increase of two million over the number a year ago. In January of this year over 3,000,000 children were studying in their native language in the schools of the autonomous Soviet republics. Schooling in the Soviet Union is based on the Marxist-Leninist principle of the integration of mental with manual labor, on the principle of training for Socialist construction through developing the Socialist consciousness. The program of the Soviet schools was thus summed up by S. Gaissovich, Assistant Director of the Scientific Research Institute of Polytechnical Education:

> "The Soviet polytechnical school provides: (a) general education for the pupils, including the mastery of the fundamentals of physics, mathematics, language, social science, chemistry, history, natural science, etc.; (b) polytechnical education, which means theoretical study of the scientific principles of production, and the acquiring of skill in handling tools used in essential production processes; (c) linking up study with productive labor in industry and agriculture; (d) physical education."

Particularly noteworthy is the growth of technical education in the Soviet Union. Under the Commissariat for Heavy Industry alone, there were at the opening of the current school year 116 higher technical schools with an enrollment of 130,000 and 291 technicums with an approximate student body of 120,000. The extent of this growth stands out boldly when we bear in mind that in Czarist Russia, in the year of the outbreak of the World War, there were altogether 12 higher technical schools with a little over 19,000 pupils and 102 technicums with between 14,000 and 15,000 pupils.

Between 1928 and the end of 1932—that is during the first Five-Year Plan, the number of specialists employed in the reconstruction of the national economy increased from 146,000 to 375,000—more than two and one-half times.

These figures are of high political importance, inasmuch as they indicate a tremendous development in bringing forward from the proletarian ranks cadres of technicians and specialists, trained in the Socialist consciousness that gives zeal and loyalty to their work of constructing socialism.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY LEADS TO VICTORIOUS ADVANCE

These achievements have been realized, because the Soviet toiling masses, under the leadership of the Communist Party, waged a relentless struggle against all capitalist elements. These victories would have been impossible without the stern crushing of the saboteurs and wreckers of industry, without the defeat of the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

interventionists, aided and abetted by leading imperialist powers, and by the central leadership of the Second International.

The achievements of the Soviet Union have been rendered possible through the correct leadership of the Communist Party which, guiding itself by the teachings of Marx and Lenin, spurred the masses forward for the overcoming of all obstacles in the onward march to Socialism. The correct guiding role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is throughout the period of Socialist construction directly traceable to the firm leadership of Comrade Stalin, who has held true to the teachings of Lenin against all deviators and opportunists, and who further developed the Marxist-Leninist teachings as a guide to action in the period of Socialist construction.

Let us cite at this point from the report of Comrade Manuilsky to the recent Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.:

> "Comrade Stalin, the true comrade-in-arms and best disciple of Comrade Lenin, led the Party, the working class, and the entire country over all the dangers that we encountered during the past decade, to surmount all the difficulties which stood in our way. Never yet has our Party been so firmly consolidated and united as it is now under the leadership of Comrade Stalin. The entire work of strengthening the internal and international position of the U.S.S.R., the whole of the stupendous work of socialist construction carried out during the past ten years in the conditions of capitalist encirclement which demanded the greatest Leninist firmness and flexibility, combined with steel-like determination, bears the direct impress of the mind, the will and the actions of Stalin. . . .
>
> "In the minds of the toilers of our country and of the international proletariat the whole period of socialist construction and its victory in the U.S.S.R. is linked up with the name of Comrade Stalin. On the basis of the law of the uneven development of imperialism, he worked out and carried into operation the Leninist teachings on the building up of socialism in a single country. In this Stalinist position, which is understood by the whole of the Communist International, the task of preparing the international proletariat for a new round of wars and revolutions is actually being carried out. Under the leadership of Lenin, the C.P.S.U. defeated Menshevism, which stood in the path of the proletarian revolution in Russia; under the leadership of Stalin, in the period of socialist construction, a decisive blow was struck at the Menshevism of our epoch which sometimes appears in the form of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism and sometimes in the form of the Right opportunist deviation."

THE SUCCESSES OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE SPHERE OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

The brilliant victories in Socialist construction inside the Soviet Union have made possible great successes in the sphere of foreign

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

relations. After years of negotiations and in pursuit of an undeviating policy of peace the Soviet Union has been successful in securing non-aggression pacts with Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Poland, Roumania, Persia, Turkey, and Afghanistan. Similar pacts have been signed with France, Italy, Jugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and negotiations are proceeding to obtain similar agreements with other nations. The central point of Soviet foreign relations has been and is that which was so clearly stated by Comrade Stalin:

> "We desire no foreign territory, but we will never yield an inch of our own land."

Guided by this principle the Soviet Union has been able to place in an exceedingly bad light before the toiling masses of the capitalist countries those apostles of imperialist intervention who have led anti-Soviet campaigns. By pursuing, in spite of all provocations, this fundamental policy, the Soviet Union has convinced the masses of the world of its peaceful intentions.

Of tremendous weight in forcing the imperialist powers to conclude non-aggression pacts with the Soviet Union is the growing revolutionary upsurge of the toiling masses of the capitalist countries, who, in ever larger numbers, realize that the imperialist powers are striving, in the midst of all their sharpening contradictions, to find a capitalist way out of the crisis at the expense of the Soviet Union. These capitalist powers, forced to sign non-aggression pacts, try to foster the deception that wars can be permanently prevented by international agreements. No greater illusion could prevail. In combatting such illusions it is necessary to emphasize continually the fact that the declaration of the Twelfth plenary session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International characterized this period as the end of capitalist stabilization and a transition to a new round of wars and revolutions. Moreover, every war, regardless of where it breaks out, bears within it in this period the imminent danger of an attack upon the Soviet Union.

THE IMPERIALIST WAR THREATS AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION

The chief danger of war is still the threats of imperialist war and intervention against the Soviet Union. Due to the predatory policy pursued by the Japanese government, all efforts of the Soviet Union to conclude with it a non-aggression pact have failed. At this moment, due to the bandit policies of the Japanese government and its military clique, there is imminent danger of the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

breaking of the Soviet-Japanese relations. The seizure of Manchuria by Japan did not appease the Japanese military groups. Right now they are reaching out to seize the Chinese Eastern railway, owned by the U.S.S.R. and operated jointly with China. Due to its desire to prevent war the Soviet Union has stated its willingness to sell the railroad to China, through the medium of Japan, the de-facto ruler of Manchuria. But the frenzied imperialists of Japan are doing their best to make impossible the conclusion of an agreement and threaten to seize the railroad without any compensation, while at the same time carrying on the most infamous provocations on the Soviet borders. In this, Japan is tacitly backed by the European Powers and by American imperialism.

Relations with Great Britain have again been resumed with the lifting of the British embargo on Soviet goods. The British ruling class, driven by the impact of the crisis to strive for markets, realized that it was injuring itself by maintaining the embargo which had been declared when agents of British imperialism were placed on trial before Soviet courts for their wrecking and sabotaging activities.

As a result of the terrific sharpening of the conflicts between the imperialist powers we see many of them accepting offers of the Soviet Union for non-aggression pacts. Thus, there has been outwardly a remarkable change in the attitude of the French government toward the Soviet Union during the past summer. Many French industrialists have long realized that better relations with the U.S.S.R. would be of benefit to them. They realized its significance as an enormous market for their products. This economic advantage is realized by the heads of the French government. Besides economic considerations, the changed political situation in Europe brought about by the advent of Hitlerism has impelled France and Poland to try to strengthen their relations with the Soviet Union.

CAPITALIST "PLANNING"— A STUDY IN CONTRASTS

In contrast to the victorious advance of the proletariat in the Soviet Union on the road to Socialism, is the fiasco of all attempts by the international bourgeoisie to force its way out of the general capitalist crisis. Since the outbreak of the world-wide crisis of capitalism in the autumn of 1929, which ended the second post-war period, the period of relative capitalist stabilization, the manifold imperialist contradictions have from day to day become further intensified.

The underlying capitalist contradiction between social produc-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion and private appropriation has in the general crisis of capitalism led to the transformation of what was in the past the industrial reserve army into a permanent colossal army of unemployed. This is particularly true of the most advanced capitalist countries. In the United States, the number of unemployed has reached the appalling figure of 16 million. That the army of unemployed is structural, that capitalism does not look forward to reabsorbing the bulk of its unemployed is now openly admitted by leading bourgeois economists. Left with a highly developed productive capacity, with the purchasing power of the masses terrifically reduced, with no new foreign markets and spheres of influence open for penetration, capitalism is driven on the one hand to beat down more and more the living conditions of the toiling population, to unleash all its brutality in its efforts to suppress the revolutionary upsurge of the exploited and oppressed masses in the "home" country and in the colonies, and, on the other hand, to prepare with might and main for the new imperialist war for the redivision of the colonies and spheres of influence. The results are: sharper class antagonism, increased exploitation and oppression, an ever more open and brutal dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the growth of fascism as a counter-force to the revolutionary offensive of the proletariat, and feverish preparations for imperialist war and military intervention in the Soviet Union.

The bourgeoisie will not—dares not—admit that the source of the crisis is in the capitalist mode of production. To the capitalist class the fetishism of commodities presents the problem centrally as one of markets, and the question resolves itself into plans for the "control of the market"—plans for the forcible re-division of the earth and for "adjusting" the domestic sphere of exchange. But be the plan the "World Economic Conference", be it "organized capitalism", be it "Mondism" or "technocracy" or "managed currency" or "inflation" or "economic democracy"—essentially it is the vain gesture of a King Canute to hold back the overwhelming tide of the capitalist crisis and the proletarian revolution.

The four years of the constantly deepening crisis have brought to the consciousness of ever increasing masses of toilers the realization that capitalism cannot save itself. The true purpose of capitalist "planning" has stamped itself upon the mind of increasing numbers of toilers as the purpose of shifting the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the toiling masses.

HITLER'S FOUR-YEAR PLAN

In the light of the planned economy in the Soviet Union, let us examine, for example, Hitler's widely advertised Four-Year Plan.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hitler's Plan calls for the struggle to maintain the present State Power, for the "awakening of self-confidence" in the German people, for convincing the people that the government "desires only one thing: the people's weal". As against the State power of the proletariat in the Soviet Union which is the expression of the rule of the proletariat, of the fullest democracy and initiative of the entire toiling population, Hitler's State power is the rule of monopoly capital, and its retention is possible only through the forcible repression, by means unparallelled in all history for bestiality, of all working class organizations and activities.

Hitler's Plan calls for "elevating the esteem" in which manual labor should be held, by drafting the youth for compulsory labor service. But the dignity of manual labor means its liberation from wage-slavery, means its liberation for Socialist construction. This dignity the youth of the Soviet Union alone is made conscious of as it participates in the forefront of the toiling masses as shock-brigaders, as Socialist competitors, in the building of the new society. In Hitler's Germany, under the ballyhoo of the honorable nature of manual labor, the youth is being subjected to forced servitude at starvation wages in labor camps similar to those in the United States.

Hitler's Plan aims at "freeing creative business" and industry from the fetters of majority votes. (Compare the N.R.A. exemption of the trusts from even the formal restrictions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.) Under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, there is quite another kind of removal of restrictions. The restrictions that have there been removed are the restrictions of the bourgeois property relations upon the vital productive force of the proletariat, the strangle-hold of the exploiters upon the working class.

Much has been made of the provision in Hitler's Plan to put agriculture on its feet, to regulate production and shape the trade policy in the interests of the farmers. This was interpreted by the apologists of fascism to mean the accomplishment of Hitler's promise to smash the Junkers by dividing their estates. Actually the plan that was finally accepted was that the Junkers should give up only 10% of their land—and that, at a handsome price. Naturally, they gave up the most barren tenth. This is the old "socialization of losses" that capitalists favor so much—the only kind of socialization that Hitlerism has set itself to achieve.

The lowered purchasing ability of the city population has wrought havoc with the entire project. The terroristic beating down of the living standards of the urban toiling masses and particularly the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

working class by the Fascist State forces has logically destroyed the base for the sale of peasant products, and has definitely shown up the plan of Hitler in all its demagogy and hollowness.

Hitler's program calls for the reduction of unemployment by apportioning several billion marks to road construction and other public works. We meet glowing statistical accounts and reports of speeches by fascist chiefs purporting to show a rapid liquidation of unemployment in Germany. But a close look at these accounts convinces one immediately of their fraudulent nature. The Nazis have reduced—not unemployment, but their unemployments lists. They have narrowed down the unemployment categories, so that many workers have been forced off the lists. It must be remembered that when one talks of unemployment in Germany on the basis of the official lists that only those workers are considered unemployed who are entitled to relief. All other unemployed are technically ruled out. Some of the categories are those who have been sent to the forced labor camps (at least a hundred thousand), others are Communists, Jews, militant workers, tens of thousands of whom have been forced to flee over the frontiers and hundreds of thousands of whom are in fear of reporting at the labor exchanges; and, in addition, there are many women categories who are excluded from the lists. On the public works project men have been taken off the lists and put on road construction at wages *only slightly above the unemployment relief dole*. This also is forced labor. It acts, again, as a means of further cutting wages.

Such is Hitler's Four-Year Plan.

THE N.R.A.— PLANNING AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS

Let us turn now to "our own"—Roosevelt's planning schemes at their culminating point, the National Industrial Recovery Act (N.R.A.). The N.R.A. is first and foremost a grandiose, blustering scheme on the part of American finance-capital to overcome the crisis at the expense of the toiling masses through a steady policy of fascization designed to defeat the revolutionary upsurge of the American toiling masses.

The avowed purpose of the N.R.A. was "to provide for the general welfare by promoting the organization of industry for the purpose of cooperative action among trade groups . . . to eliminate unfair competitive practices, to promote the fullest possible utilization of the present productive capacity of industries, to avoid undue restriction of production (except as may be temporarily required), to increase the consumption of industrial and agricultural products . . . and otherwise to rehabilitate industry and to conserve natural resources".

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Behind this talk of "general welfare" and increased consumption of products lies the sinister purpose of strengthening monopoly capitalism. The provision of the N.R.A. to exempt the trusts from even the formal control of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act openly avows that. The elimination of "unfair" competition is directed at the smaller manufacturers who stand outside the monopolies. The Federal and State governmental direction, coordination, and supervision of the N.R.A. represents a closer integration of the State apparatus with big business—a definite trend of fascization. The "general welfare" has resolved itself into industrial codes of national reduction of the workers' living standards.

THE CODES FOR REDUCING THE WORKERS' LIVING STANDARDS

The blanket N.R.A. code on which the various industrial codes are based assigns a minimum wage of from $10.50 to $14 for a maximum working week of 35 hours, the tendency being for the minimum to become the maximum. This blanket code guarantees the capitalists a stable low wage level which, in the face of the rising cost of living, represents a steady decrease in real wages, in effect, a naton-wide wage-cut. Thus, from May to September 1, in spite of Roosevelt's guarantee of "wages of decent living," there has been a reduction in real wages of approximately 12%.

The N.R.A. undertook to bring back six million unemployed to jobs by September 1. But the fact is that what reduction in hours the codes provide for is neutralized by increased speed-up and rationalization. As one bourgeois economist wrote in the *Annalist* of June 30, 1933: "Employers everywhere will endeavor to get output formerly obtained during longer hours." Moreover, almost half of the adopted codes for basic industry have set the maximum hours at 40 per week; thirdly, the codes are equipped with innumerable loop-holes, exceptions, and emergency provisions, for stretching the working hours quite in excess of the prescribed maximum. The decrease in unemployment resulting from the N.R.A. is negligible. The bulk of the re-employment (of about 1,500,000 workers from March to July) was in consequence of the pumped-up inflation, with its speculative rise in prices and production prior to the date on which the N.R.A. codes went into effect. It would be safe to say that as a direct result of the codes, the re-employment has not exceeded 500,000.

And the workers out of jobs number 15 to 16 million!

The N.R.A. is a program of war against the American working class. It is the heightened rationalization of the machinery of finance capital set in motion to crush the workers' rising militancy,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to break the backbone of the big strike movement and the demand for unemployment insurance, to destroy the revolutionary trade unions, to crush the struggles of the exploited farmers, to launch a more brutal oppression of the Negro people, to wage war on the toiling masses of Cuba and all Latin America, to plunge the American masses into a new imperialist war, to prepare the attack on the Soviet Union and the Chinese people.

THE ANTI-STRIKE NATURE OF THE N.R.A.

The slogan of the N.R.A., as it was released by General Hugh Johnson, guest of honor at the recent Convention of the American Federation of Labor, is "Strikes are now intolerable". The anti-strike nature of the N.R.A. is specifically formulated in the bituminous coal agreement foisted upon 340,000 miners by the collusion of the operators, the N.R.A. directors, and the treacherous leaders of the United Mine Workers Union. In that agreement it is expressly stated that "A strike or stoppage of work on the part of the mine workers shall be a violation of this agreement. Under no circumstances shall the operator discuss the matter under dispute with the mine committee or any representative of the United Mine Workers of America during suspension of work in violation of this agreement".

A PROGRAM FOR FASCIZING THE UNIONS WITH THE HELP OF THE LABOR BUREAUCRATS

That this agreement represents the conscious efforts of the American Federation of Labor leadership to throttle the strike-weapon of the working class, is evidenced by the most recent public statement of Assistant Secretary of Labor, Edward F. McGrady, for years legislative representative of the American Federation of Labor. McGrady declared:

> "There is no need for employers to lock their workers out in any dispute and there is equally no need on the part of the workers to strike."

The N.R.A. represents the most dastardly collusion between the bosses, the government, and the corrupt labor officials to strike at the entire revolutionary labor movement, to outlaw every form of open struggle, to turn the trade unions of this country into fascist syndicates of the Italian mold.

With this objective, the launching of the N.R.A. was begun with a campaign of intimidation and terror against the militant Fur Workers' Industrial Union—a campaign led by the labor misleader, McGrady, who, for his valiant services to the bourgeoisie, was put

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

into the government apparatus. Attacks were made upon the tobacco workers of Tampa, Florida. A special onslaught has been made by the N.R.A. apparatus against the militant Shoe and Leather Workers' Industrial Union. Grover Whalen, ex-Police Commissioner of New York, who, in 1930, was exposed in his efforts to use forged documents to discredit the Amtorg Trading Corporation, and therefore, deservedly, N.R.A. leader in New York City, conducted the campaign of suppression against the Shoe and Leather Workers' Union with the sweeping assertion that *"the right to picket even in an orderly manner is suspended by the N.R.A. program."*

The fruits of the N.R.A. for the working class have so far been: strike-breaking by government and American Federation of Labor leaders, injunctions, thuggery, imprisonments, raids on homes and strike-meetings, smashed picket-lines, increased lynchings of Negroes, martial law with machine guns and bayonets—the massacre of the heroic Ambridge steel workers!

THE N.R.A.—AN INSTRUMENT OF GREATER OPPRESSION OF THE NEGRO MASSES

The weight of the N.R.A. oppression falls most heavily upon the Negro masses. Since the adoption of the codes, Negro workers have flagrantly been discharged and their places given to whites. It is estimated that no less than 12,000 Negroes were left out of the cotton code provisions for minimum wages and maximum hours. A similar discrimination is noticeable in the workings of the other codes. The Negroes at work on the Mississippi flood control are getting 10c an hour, despite the code provision for 40c. In addition, domestic servants, of whom the Negroes form the largest proportion, are left completely outside of the codes.

The form of oppression of the Negro people has taken a definite fascist trend. There is a much closer integration of the government and the Negro reformist misleaders who have done their part in trumpeting for the N.R.A. The rising militancy of the Negro masses inspired by the Communist Party is being met with increasing governmental terror. A new round of lynchings is the answer of the government to the growing rebelliousness of the Negro masses. But what is outstanding in these most recent lynchings is that they have lost their former mass character. The lynchings are now more and more being directly organized by the State apparatus.

THE N.R.A.—A WAR MEASURE

Finally, the N.R.A. is a plan for colossal war preparations. Under the "public works" section of the Act, allotments have

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been made for gunboats, cruisers, submarines, and aircraft to the amount of $238,000,000. The Secretary of the Navy has put in a request for $153,000,000 to go towards constructing ships, airplanes, and naval bases. $55,000,000 have been allocated to the War Department for additional constructions, with added requests amounting to about $150,000,000 still pending. There is no fear that the Public Works Administration will disappoint the War Department.

Moreover, the prime promoters of the N.R.A. and the personnel of its administration are captains of war industries, arch war mongers, and men who were leading figures in the promotion of the Great War.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY LEADS IN STRUGGLE AGAINST THE N.R.A.

The Communist Party alone has from the very inception of the National Recovery Bill correctly analyzed and consistently exposed and fought the measure as a project toward fascism and war. While the bourgeoisie heralded with pomp and circumstance the glory of the N.R.A., while the reformist Labor racketeers hailed the Act as a new Magna Carta, as "the greatest piece of forward-looking legislation" (William Green), and got themselves installed into the Roosevelt government apparatus; while the social-fascist chieftains hailed the N.R.A. as a great revolutionary advance, as a "step towards Socialism" (Norman Thomas), the Communist Party has consistently branded the Act as a program of hunger, fascism and war, and called upon the working class to solidify its ranks for effective resistance to the fierce onslaughts of the capitalists and their government. Against the efforts of the capitalist class to beat down still further the living conditions of the workers, the Communist Party puts forward a program of heightened struggle for unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the bosses and the government. Against the N.R.A. strike-breaking and open shop campaign, the Communist Party and the Trade Union Unity League are rousing the American working class to militant resistance, to meet the onslaught of the bosses with greater and greater strike waves, to violate in mass the anti-strike injunctions, to build the revolutionary trade unions, to build strong oppositions in the reactionary unions. Against the traitor-policy of the labor bureaucrats to liquidate the independent labor movement by fascizing the trade unions, against the policy of the Socialist Party leaders to disarm the working class in the struggle against fascism, the Communist Party calls upon the toiling masses, the organized and the unorganized, to form one

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

united front of struggle. It calls upon the members of the A. F. of L. unions, of the Trade Union Unity League, of the independent unions, of the Unemployed Councils and Leagues, of the toiling farmers' movement, to unite in common revolutionary action over the heads of the misleaders against the Roosevelt hunger-fascism-and-war program. It calls upon the Negro masses to shake off the misleadership of the Negro reformists and unite as a conscious, revolutionary ally with the American proletariat in the struggle against capitalism and imperialist oppression. The Communist Party calls upon the rank-and-file members of the Socialist Party to overcome the obstacles set in their path by the social-fascist leadership and to join, in a broad revolutionary united front of all toilers against fascism and imperialist war, for the defense of the Soviet Union.

FOR THE WORKERS' REVOLUTIONARY WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS

The attempt of Roosevelt's "New Deal" to blackjack the American workers and farmers into submission has dismally failed. With all the demagogy, camouflage, and ballyhoo, with the entire unholy triple alliance of monopoly capital, State power, and A. F. of L. and Socialist misleaders—American capitalism has proved itself unable to beat back the rising militancy of the American toiling masses. The Roosevelt administration has come to realize this. Quite noticeably from day to day, the tactic of demagogy is giving way more and more to methods of open suppression, to methods of fascist brutality, to thuggery and murder of strike pickets, to State-engineered and State-perpetrated lynchings of Negroes, to the wholesale use of anti-strike injunctions, to flagrant attempts at suppressing the revolutionary unions.

For the American workers there is only one way out—the way that the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union took sixteen years ago. It is the way of proletarian, revolutionary struggle against all capitalist exploitation, the way of struggle against the Roosevelt N.R.A. hunger program that leads to fascism and war, the way of struggle against the treacheries of the A. F. of L. and Socialist Party leadership.

It is the way of revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party for the overthrow of capitalism, the destruction of the dictatorship of the capitalists, and the establishment of a revolutionary Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Seal of the N.R.A. on the A. F. of L. Convention

By BILL DUNNE

> "Now there is no doubt that, if capitalism could develop agriculture, which today has been everywhere left far behind by industry, if it could raise the standard of living of the masses, who are everywhere still poverty stricken and badly fed in spite of dizzy advance in technical knowledge, there could be no talk of an excess of capital. And the petty bourgeois critics of capitalism advance this argument on every occasion. But in that case capitalism would not be capitalism, for the inequalities of development and the wretched conditions of the masses are indispensable conditions, the very roots of this method of production."—Lenin, *Imperialism—the Final Stage of Capitalism.*

THE National Recovery Act, the chief product of the master minds of the ruling class of the United States during the crisis, attempts to convince the masses that American capitalism, by virtue of the provisions of N.R.A., is no longer the old oppressive capitalism but a new, bright shining creation under whose aegis the working class and poor farmers come into their own. It is under such pretensions that N.R.A. attempts to strengthen the towering but tottering structure of monopoly capitalism.

The theory of N.R.A. is the shopworn theory of organized capitalism, but, taking advantage of the ignorance of Marxist-Leninist teachings among great masses of the toiling population, its publicists put it forward as an indigenous product. Finding it necessary to do something to divert the popular and increasing interest in the planned Socialist economy of the Soviet Union, N.R.A. has delivered some abortions in *this* field. It has drawn liberally from fascist theoreticians on the question of the "corporate State" and in both its theoretical and administrative aspects leans far in the direction of fascism in its whole approach to the organizations of workers and their role under the "New Deal".

The motto of N.R.A. for workers is "be good and you will be happy". "Labor" is to be given its place in the sun. Labor unions are to be incorporated into the government machinery. Managed by official labor leaders, the unions are to have two main tasks—to "maintain peace in industry" and to be the collective agencies for assisting in the organization of the productive processes. Those

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unions whose leadership resists the carrying out of this program are to be destroyed.

For such a program the closest possible linking of the leadership of the American Federation of Labor with the government apparatus is necessary. It is also necessary that the bureaucracy have a social base considerably broader than the one narrowed by hundreds of thousands suspended and expelled for non-payment of dues because of unemployment during four years of crisis.

Months before the Fifty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, its executive Council had endorsed the National Recovery Act. Its leaders had taken an active part in the framing of industrial codes. The convention had the mere task of ratifying the action of the Executive Council and of taking such measures as were necessary to simplify the relations between the A. F. of L. leadership, the employers and the government, to place the seal of its endorsement on N.R.A. as the official program of the A. F. of L.

It is true, of course, that the program of the A. F. of L. leadership for years has been that of finance capital and its government in both domestic and foreign policy. During the World War, these labor agents of imperialism, then headed by Gompers, became the popular propagandists for the war policy and held various posts in the government. Union membership reached the four million mark.

But this was an emergency situation and, the war being over, the bureaucrats carried out their instructions and destroyed the mass character of the A. F. of L. unions that had arisen in basic industry, miners, steel workers, packing house workers, railway shop craft workers, textile workers, etc.—after a whole series of militant struggles, and announced their allegiance to the new efficiency unionism—labor-management cooperation. No further attempts were made to organize workers in big industry.

It can be contended that the adoption of N.R.A., with its peace-in-industry slogan, its anti-strike and compulsory arbitration provisions, as in the supplementary agreement to the coal code, is only another step from the labor-management cooperation scheme. What is the new feature?

The *new* feature is the amalgamation of the top stratum of the labor bureaucracy with the government through N.R.A. positions and the open entry of the government into all relations between workers and employers. The moral justification given by the bureaucrats for this blow at the independent existence and function of labor unions is our old Yankee democratic friend—"the government

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of all the people". Miss Perkins put it very neatly in her speech to the convention: "The direction of this Administration will be in the *joint interest of wage earners, industry and the general public and not to favor any one group or class at the expense of another*". Leading up to this the voluble lady had already said:

> "The fifty-third annual convention of your organization, thanks to the vision and courage of President Roosevelt in making possible the National Recovery Act, *sees labor as an integral part of our modern state.* The Act includes among its basic ideas the idea that employers have a certain public responsibility in the conduct of their industries. Wage earners are a factor in formulating these policies of public responsibilities and wage earners are to be *permitted* to make *constructive* contribution to solving the *economic* problems that confront the United States of America on the industrial front." (Italics mine—B. D.)

The Perkins concept evidently visualized a peaceful incorporation of workers and their organizations into the machinery of the N.R.A. under the firm guiding hand of their official leaders. But, beginning shortly before the convention and reaching mammoth proportions during the convention, there occurred mass strikes in three basic industries—coal, steel and textile—with a whole series of smaller strikes in a dozen different industries and occupations.

Workers struck to the number of some 500,000 in defiance of the pledges made by the unions' leaders to adjust all grievances through the N.R.A. machinery. (A number of these strikes were led by the unions of the T.U.U.L. and naturally we do not refer to the militant leaders in this statement.) The A. F. of L. leaders during the convention never so much as mentioned these great strikes either in speeches or resolutions. As far as their convention actions are concerned the strikes were non-existent. Even when strikig miners were shot down like wild animals consent was refused for the introduction of a resolution calling for action in their support.

But these mass strikes, against code provisions, for union recognition, for higher wages, etc., were the ghost at the bridal banquet celebrating the legalizing of the marriage of labor leaders, monopoly capital and its government. Once more there arose in sharp form the question that had intruded itself into the code hearings of all the heavy industries, the questions posed by the most powerful capitalists in coal, steel and auto: How far is it safe to trust the official labor leaders to control the masses of newly organized workers? To what extent is it possible for them actually to get masses of workers to accept the policy of government controlled unions, compulsory arbitration and surrender of the strike weapon?

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Because of the terrific impact of the strikes, which added to the acuteness of the inner crisis into which N.R.A. was running even before the convention, due to dropping production, rising prices in mass consumption goods, the widening gap between farm prices and prices of industrial commodities, and the failure of the ambitious re-employment program with which, discounting some of the demagogy, many even of the government leaders had fooled themselves, the Roosevelt spokesmen were forced to adopt a harsher tone to the assembled bureaucrats and drive them to more energetic strikebreaking. As a result of this the suppressive as against the demagogic side of N.R.A. came more into the open.

More and more the conciliatory phrases disappeared from the speeches of the government leaders and the A. F. of L. officials were told publicly what was expected of them. The harsher tone of the speeches coincided with the increased use of armed force against strikers.

It is customary for the Secretary of Labor to address A. F. of L. conventions. One or two senators among the list of speakers is not an uncommon event. Presidents Wilson and Hoover, in periods of emergency, appeared at one convention during their administrations. But for this convention there was a mobilization of government executives which included the president, Postmaster-General Farley, Secretary of Labor Perkins, Senator Wagner (the actual leader of the Roosevelt administration), and General Johnson, head of the N.R.A. apparatus. The precious flock was never long unshepherded. Too much was at stake.

One can almost trace the course of the inner crisis of N.R.A. by the crescendo of the speeches of administration officials. Farley followed Perkins, Wagner followed Farley, Johnson followed Wagner, Roosevelt spoke at the Gompers memorial meeting after all tickets issued to rank and file trade unionists had been cancelled for fear of an anti-official demonstration. Wagner said:

> "The New Deal has given labor a new charter. Labor must recognize the responsibilities which come with this freedom. *The first charge upon labor is that it abandon the philosophy of strife in its relations with employers.* Industrial warfare can produce implacable hatreds and sow the seeds of depression. It can not work out the delicate economic adjustments which are necessary to prevent the crumbling of our high-powered economic society. *It is tragic that workers who have endured so patiently during years of unalloyed misfortune should resort so largely to extreme methods after revival has begun, and when further revival depends upon the success of the program of cooperation.*
>
> "The second obligation of labor is that it *maintain discipline within its own ranks.* The few who seek to degrade standards by

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

willingness to work under indecent conditions must be forced into line. *Those who tend to destroy the opportunities for fruitful industrial relations by quick and fanciful resort to strikes and other forms of warfare must be given strong counsel.* The determination of the majority to follow a wise course must not be hampered by short sighted or even evil advice." (*Italics mine*—B. D.)

In these two short passages are contained, couched as yet in somewhat careful language, the political and moral justification of the N.R.A. program of strikebreaking and suppression which the bureaucrats are to aid in enforcing, and the promise of support of them by the government against the workers they are to betray. The essence of the Wagner speech is the drive to "*prevent the complete crumbling of our high-powered economic society*" at no matter what cost to the working class and its organizations.

When General Johnson spoke the strike wave had reached a new high peak. Miners were ousting district and local officials who ordered them back to work, steel and textile workers had struck and picketed en masse over the heads of the official leaders. Johnson, the typical representative of militarized heavy industry, spoke brutally to the assembled bureaucrats. In words that could not be misunderstood he told them exactly what their dirty job was.

Johnson gave clearest expression of all the administration spokesmen to the N.R.A. program for strengthening monopoly capitalism with the open aid of the government against the working class, the farmers and the weaker sections of employers, merchants, etc. Chester M. Wright, formerly the confidential aide to Gompers, editor of the A. F. of L. Labor News Service and head of the Industrial Recovery Administration Proceedings Service, and unquestionably an expert in his field, described Johnson's speech in his Bulletin Number 92:

"The General said, 'the old order is gone forever,' he spoke of *the demise of small business, the futility of 'shoe string' operations,* the coming of mass production and then: 'You cannot apply controls to millions of separate units of great industry treating each alone.' Further: 'The purpose is to regulate the quantity of what goes in the hopper to the power of the country to consume what comes out at the snout . . . organization to the uttermost and such public controls as will create complete confidence in the organization of both.' And then especially to labor: '*The plain stark truth is you cannot tolerate the strike.' Again he termed the strike 'economic sabotage. . . .'*

"Pointing back to old days Johnson said, 'You had sometimes to be militant and always on the alert literally to fight for the life of labor. That is no longer necessary with N.R.A. . . . *Labor needs to use no aggression in this process and you will get in these codes the maximum of what the particular economic situation permits and*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

no amount of militant pressure can change that result.'" (*Italics mine*—B. D.)

This is a fairly clear expression of the fascist conception of labor unions as bodies of workers having no other function than to vote yes on all proposals made by a government of capitalist representatives and bought and paid-for labor leaders. This is what N.R.A. means by collective bargaining.

More important still is the official interpretation given by Wright of the basic principle which governs the labor machinery of the N.R.A. He writes:

> "The codes themselves are being set up, in accordance with the act, *as an instrumentality of the organized employers.* The collective bargaining clauses are inserted as a guiding principle for industry. Minimum wages and maximum hours *more as a protection to business from unfair low wage competition and for social welfare reasons than as a protection to organized labor.*. In practice the codes are worked out *with the approval of industry; labor's approval is not a determining factor.* Labor is given an opportunity to make a statement at the hearings, *but not any more than an individual citizen is given,* sometimes less and sometimes more according to the attitude of the Administrator. *Labor is given such participation in the administration of industry as the employers wish it to have, and no more."* (*Italics mine*—B. D.)

The role of the A. F. of L. labor leaders then is clearly confined to keeping workers quiescent.

The labor section of the N.R.A. is its Achilles' heel. It is for this reason that the conjuncture of the convention and the strike wave brought such revealing utterances from the Roosevelt administration and such hangers-on as Chester M. Wright. Upon the policies expressed in these utterances there is little disagreement among the members of the administration and its trained seal labor leaders. Such difference of opinion as exists is over questions of method of application of these policies.

On this point the resolution of the Seventeenth Session of the Central Committee says:

> "4. In this situation, the bourgeoisie, fearing the consequences of the breakdown of its 'experiments' is preparing additional measures to meet the emergency. Although yet quarreling among themselves as to the next steps, powerful forces are at work to meet the winter problems by a new and more decisive inflation, devaluation of the dollar, more drastic liquidations of small undertakings in favor of further trustification. They are unanimously in favor of an intensified drive for new wage cuts, speed-up, cutting of unemployment relief, and the use of more fascist methods against the struggles and organizations of the workers, the use of force

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> and violence, legal and extra-legal, to suppress the rising struggles of the workers (Ambridge, Utah, New Mexico, California, Tampa). *In these policies the capitalist class has the full support and collaboration of the American Federation of Labor and Socialist Party leaders, which more rapidly than ever are amalgamating with the capitalist state apparatus (A. F. of L. Convention, fully supported by the S.P.). The leaders of the Muste group (Muste, Truax), after making solemn public pledges of united struggle against N.R.A. and for unification of the unemployed movement, are objectively helping the government and A. F. of L. in fighting the militant unions and perpetuating the divisions among the unemployed*; their renewed agitation for a Labor Party is but an instrument designed to hold back the radicalized masses from the path of revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the C.P.U.S.A."

Senior, national secretary of the Socialist Party, on the fourth day of the convention, when its line of unstinted support of every act of the government and employers against striking workers was already clear, sent the following telegram, which was read to the delegates:

> "Congratulations on the splendid organizing record made in the past few months and on basing your educational work on the historical fact that workers will be given permanently only what they have the power to take. Socialists are now assisting in the great unionizing drive in thousands of places and stand ready to aid in any way or place when called upon."

On motion of David Dubinsky, a resolution of eulogy and regret was passed on the death of Morris Hillquit. Having thus made its peace with both dead and living Socialist Party leaders the convention resumed its work of betraying the American working class to N.R.A.

The Musteites had one delegate in the convention. He introduced only one resolution. It asked for permission to pay initiation fees in federal unions on the installment plan. This was the magnificent contribution of Muste to the united front struggle against reaction in the A. F. of L. during the course of the convention. The Musteite delegate did not even attempt to support the resolutions of the Rank and File Opposition which contained the program of struggle of the revolutionary workers inside the A. F. of L. unions. Neither was there a fight for the Labor Party resolution introduced by the hardened reactionary Mike Tighe.

The resolution of the Central Committee is 100 per cent correct in its characterization of these elements.

N.R.A. meets with increasing difficulties. The child of monopoly capital, it fights for its offspring but because of the constantly intruding class and sectional conflicts has to pursue a devious course.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Difficult as its problems were at the time of the A. F. of L. convention they have been magnified many times, since so rapid is the course of the present crisis.

> "*At the same time monopoly, which has sprung from free competition, does not drive the latter out of existence, but co-exists over it and with it, thus giving rise to a number of very acute and very great contradictions, antagonisms and conflicts.*"—Lenin.

No sooner is a breathing spell on the strike front secured by a combination of terror, treachery and demagogy, a return to work by miners and steel workers nursing their wounds, hugging their grievances and awaiting another favorable opportunity for struggle, than wide revolt flares up on the farm front, penetrating deeply even into the N.R.A. apparatus as in Nebraska, North Dakota, Wisconsin, etc.

Afraid of a junction of forces of workers and farmers, the N.R.A. administration tightens the screws to prevent strike struggle. A Washington dispatch of Oct. 19 tells of a new ruling by Donald Richberg, "labor" counsel for N.R.A.:

> "The same penalties of fines and injunctions provided for employers violating the National Recovery Act *may be used against labor leaders*, Donald Richberg, N.R.A. counsel ruled today.
>
> "It is clearly the purpose of the recovery administration *to be impartial in its levying of fines and injunctions on violations of codes.*
>
> "Richberg, formerly an attorney for the railroad brotherhoods, caused a stir by his pronouncement against *labor leaders who have provoked disorders delaying the recovery program.* He was obviously impatient at the Illinois union leaders, although his remarks were directed at workers' representatives generally." (*Ital. mine* B.D.)

Obviously it is the left wing and revolutionary labor leaders whom Richberg has in mind. His statement represents a new emphasis on suppression under N.R.A. statutes to bulwark the unprecedented use of force against workers and farmers in the last six months under N.R.A. and its codes. So does Roosevelt's recent (Oct. 23) and sudden endorsement of the open shop "merit" clause in the auto code.

Since the convention the A. F. of L. leadership, having not even so much as mentioned unemployment insurance in the report of the Executive Council, continues to attempt to conjure away the fact of mass unemployment by arbitrarily raising the estimated number of workers returned to jobs. William Green and President Roosevelt on Oct. 22 announced that unemployment had been reduced by 4,000,000 new jobs. This is a patent lie and reveals the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lengths to which N.R.A. leaders are forced to go in their efforts to continue the deception of returning prosperity as their principal weapon against unemployment insurance. It is now entirely probable that the gain in employment made in the early period of a spurt in production based on belief in sharply rising prices, has been wiped out by the decline in industrial production and the ever more acute crisis in agriculture.

The opening up of the Home Loan, the speeding up of grants from the public works funds, the purchase of pork and butter for distribution to the unemployed, the organization of the Federal Unemployment Relief administration with an appropriation of $75,000,000 to start with are desperate measures which so far have done little except to emphasize the acute nature of the crisis.

More and more the Roosevelt administration leans towards inflation in one guise or another.

In its staggering course between demagogy, the legal extension of the capitalist dictatorship, and the use of more vicious suppression against workers and exploited farmers, Negro and white, the balance is heavy on the side of suppression. Lynch terror came into the shadow of the Capitol dome with the torture of George Armwood. Suppression and terror will increase as the crisis deepens.

It is here that the question must be answered as to what is the center of gravity for the unification of the working class in the struggle against N.R.A. and its program of hunger, suppression and war. Battleship building is about to become the most active industry in the United States. The Public Works Fund is being plundered of hundreds of millions of dollars, with the consent of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, for the navy and for modernizing the army. The ring of battleships around Cuba awakens no protest from them.

Some hundreds of thousands of workers, exactly how many it is impossible to say at present, have joined the unions of the A. F. of L. in recent months. They are for the most part workers who have never belonged to unions before. Driven by the blows of the four years of wage cuts, mass unemployment and hunger, they have organized, not only in A. F. of L. unions, but in independent unions, in T.U.U.L. unions, in clubs and fraternal organizations of many kinds. This movement develops from below. These workconstant attack on their living standards.

Where they have joined the A. F. of L. unions and have gone into struggle they have had to do so over the opposition of their union officials backed by the power of the government. They have no love and little respect for the A. F. of L. leaders but unions they want and will have.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It was with good reason that the lords of coal, steel and auto were so chary of any form of organization other than their company unions and even here in some cases they found that workers used them for a starting point.

The key to the organization of the working class for effective struggle against N.R.A. and its increasing fascist trend is the organization of the mass opposition movement inside the A. F. of L. unions—especially in those new organizations in basic industry. Here is the center of gravity for the organization of the united front of all sections of the labor movement. The working out of the forms and methods—the program springs out of N.R.A. itself and the support of it by the bureaucrats—for this movement is an immediate and vital task. Not the least of the problems is that of the forms and methods of establishing the united front with the revolutionary unions of the T.U.U.L. and the many independent unions, the organization of joint struggles and unified leadership.

With a serious beginning in this work we will begin to move rapidly toward a position where we can exert far more powerful influence and give more organizational direction in the developing situation which the Open Letter described as follows:

> "The radicalized workers, who had their bitter experience with the Republicans, are now well on the way to meeting with the same experience from the second traditional party of finance capital, namely, the Democrats, and the movements among the workers against robber measures are bound *to increase*. The poor farmers and the ruined middle farmers who only yesterday voted for the bourgeois parties are, in fact, already taking the path of struggle against the policy carried on by these parties, and are constantly intensifying their efforts to attain an 'independent' policy. Thus, as a result of the development of the crisis, which is characterized not only by a rapid extension of the labor movement, but also by a widespread movement among the petty bourgeoisie, we find a far-reaching mass movement of workers, farmers and other middle elements which is directed against the old bourgeois parties, and against the government, and which is growing continually stronger."

The organization of a mighty mass opposition in the A. F. of L. and railway brotherhoods, the unification in the struggle against N.R.A. of all sections of the organized workers, the extension of organization and struggle, the more rapid direction of these mass struggles against N.R.A. and its program of hunger, suppression and imperialist war are the main tasks of the present period.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Resolution of the 17th Central Committee Meeting of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

(*Held on October* 14-15, 1933)

1. The Extraordinary Party Conference on July 7-10th, in its Open Letter to the Party, gave to the Party the task to prepare for the increased upsurge of mass struggles. It gave an analysis of the N.R.A., and its direction of development, which has been proved entirely correct, as a new attack against the toiling masses, especially the workers, as a new attempt to head off the rising struggles of the workers by legal machinery and intense propaganda for class collaboration, the development of fascism, and as a new gigantic mobilization for imperialist war.

The Conference elaborated the tactical weapons for the struggle against the N.R.A., the means of winning and organizing the workers, especially in the basic industries, which have proved correct by successful application in every case where a serious effort has been made.

The Open Letter and the conclusions already drawn from it at the Extraordinary Conference have been confirmed by the deepening of the crisis, the revolutionary upsurge among all exploited masses with the industrial working class at its head, the hastening of the tempo of fascization with the aid of the social fascists, the sharpening of the war danger, the intervention against the Cuban revolution, and the increased menace of intervention against the Soviet Union, and by the experience of the daily work of our Party in organizing and leading the struggles of the workers and exploited masses.

BREAKDOWN OF NEW DEAL AS CAPITALIST SOLUTION OF CRISIS

2. *Characteristic of the moment, in the inner life of the U.S.A., are the many signs of breakdown of the N.R.A. operations, the bankruptcy of the New Deal as a capitalist solution of the crisis.*

After an upswing of the business index, brought about by inflation (depreciation of the dollar), already more than half of the increase of production has been lost, the index for ten weeks has been steadily downward, consumption declines, unsold stocks have greatly increased over last year, a renewed financial crisis again approaches.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The industrial codes have not brought even temporary relief to the masses, but only increased the profits of monopoly capital and speculators through direct and indirect wage-cuts, especially through speed-up in the factories; their net result has been to lower the purchasing power of the masses, instead of the boasted raising of that purchasing power.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act has left the basic masses of the farmers in worse conditions than it found them, increasing prices of the things they must buy over twice as much as the increase in prices of the things they sell.

Unemployment relief has been thoroughly broken down, even the former miserable charity standard being withdrawn from millions of starving workers.

The Roosevelt administration carries on an unprecedented program of war preparations. *The fifth winter of the crisis is plunging the masses of the United States into unprecedented misery and starvation, on a scale hitherto unknown.*

FAILURE OF N.R.A. TO PREVENT WORKERS' STRUGGLES

3. The attempt of the capitalists to prevent the mass struggles of the workers, with the help of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy and the Socialist Party, has failed. The outstanding feature of the past months has been the increasing tempo of radicalization of the workers, shown in unprecedentedly militant struggles in which the workers are displaying a tremendous mass initiative.

Millions of workers who were duped by the N.R.A. ballyhoo, who greeted Roosevelt as a savior, are already being roused in open mass struggles against the industrial codes, against the Administration, against the Labor Board, and against the reformist leadership of the A. F. of L.

The coal strike, the many strikes in the steel industry already penetrating the biggest plants, the national silk strike, the automobile strikes, and thousands of smaller strike movements that sweep the nation, all these bear witness to the failure of the N.R.A. to prevent the workers' struggles.

The radicalization of the workers proceeds at an accelerating pace, drawing into struggle new hundreds of thousands weekly. The experiences of the struggles in turn intensify the radicalization, hastening the break-up of the remaining illusions of "returning prosperity", of a capitalist solution of the crisis, under the New Deal, and preparing the most favorable conditions for the development of broader mass struggles on a higher political level—provided the Party and the fighting trade unions will more quickly and decisively provide the necessary leadership and organization of the struggles.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Experience has proved the correctness of the Open Letter when it said:

> "The radicalized workers, who had their bitter experience with the Republicans, are now well on the way to meeting with the same experience from tre second traditional party of finance capital, namely, the Democrats, and the movements among the workers against robber measures, are bound *to increase*. The poor farmers and the ruined middle farmers who only yesterday voted for the bourgeois parties are, in fact, already taking the path of struggle against the policy carried on by these parties, and are constantly intensifying their efforts to attain an 'independent' policy. Thus, as a result of the development of the crisis, which is characterized not only by a rapid extension of the labor movement, but also by a widespread movement among the petty bourgeoisie, we find a far-reaching mass movement of workers, farmers and other middle elements which is directed against the old bourgeois parties, and against the government, and which is growing continually stronger."

USE OF MORE FASCIST METHODS AGAINST STRUGGLES

4. In this situation, the bourgeoisie, fearing the consequences of the breakdown of its "experiments", is preparing additional measures to meet the emergency.

Although yet quarreling among themselves as to the next steps, powerful forces are at work to meet the winter problems by a new and more decisive inflation, devaluation of the dollar, more drastic liquidations of small undertakings in favor of further trustification.

They are unanimously in favor of an intensified drive for new wage cuts, speed-up, cutting of unemployment relief, and the use of more fascist methods against the struggles and organizations of the workers, the use of force and violance, legal and extra-legal, to suppress the rising struggles of the workers (Ambridge, Utah, New Mexico, California, Tampa), and the increased lynch terror against the Negroes.

In these policies the capitalist class has the full support and collaboration of the American Federation of Labor and Socialist Party leaders, which more rapidly than ever are amalgamating with the capitalist state apparatus (A. F. of L. Convention, fully supported bv the Socialist Party).

The leaders of the Muste group (Muste, Truax), after making solemn public pledges of united struggle against N.R.A. and for unification of the unemployed movement, are objectively helping the government and A. F. of L. in fighting the militant unions and perpetuating the divisions among the unemployed; their renewed agitation for a Labor Party is but an instrument designed to hold

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

back the radicalized masses from the path of revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

BEGINNINGS IN CARRYING OUT OF OPEN LETTER

5. Since the Extraordinary Party Conference, the Communist Party, U.S.A., has made certain beginnings in carrying into effect the Open Letter. This has been shown in: (a) increased and more effective participation in strikes, especially in basic industries, and the beginnings of building mass trade unions (steel, textiles, packing houses, shoe, needle, furniture); (b) some improvements in methods of concentration; (c) improved application of the united front policy, shown in strikes (especially in the silk strike), in the Cleveland Conference for struggle against N.R.A., and the successful U. S. Congress Against War; (d) Serious beginnings of transformation of the *Daily Worker* into a mass paper, by improvement in contents and circulation.

SERIOUS SLOWNESS AND WEAKNESSES IN CARRYING OUT OPEN LETTER

6. *The character of these advances in the Party's work, is, however, marked by the most serious slowness, weaknesses and inadequacies. The whole Party has not yet fully understood the application of the Open Letter and the leading cadres have not yet fully activized the Party membership for these tasks.*

The advance has been of a very uneven character; some important districts have hardly participated in this advance (Cleveland); others which had made important beginnings before the Extraordinary Conference have stagnated and even fallen behind since (Detroit); serious weaknesses were seen in our participation in the mining struggles which are only now being partially overcome.

WORK OF PENETRATING INTO THE A. F. OF L.

The work of penetrating into the A. F. of L., especially among the newly recruited masses, has been taken up but slowly. There is still some resistance in our ranks, and in many important districts it is still not yet faced as a practical task; serious attention to building the Y.C.L. has not yet been given in most districts and trade unions, the Party recruiting has been carried out in a narrow technical way, without explanation to the masses of our political program and the need for the Party in the class struggle, and proceeds even slower than before the present upsurge among the workers; there has been serious lack of recruiting Negroes in the trade unions with a few good exceptions (St. Louis nut-pickers, Chicago garment workers); there has been no improvement in the struggle for un-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

employment insurance, and the whole movement of the unemployed has been allowed to lag, a weakness intensified by a most serious misinterpretation of the Open Letter, which itself clearly declares the opposite, to the effect that shop work and struggles render this less important.

The development of new leading forces from among the struggling masses, and within the Party, has been seriously neglected in almost all fields, despite certain improvements here and there.

RIGHT DANGER IS MAIN OBSTACLE

7. Weakness and inadequacy in carrying out the Open Letter have been shown especially in: (a) underestimation of the radicalization of the masses, of their readiness to struggle; (b) consequently, doubts and hesitations about the Party line as expressed in the Open Letter, and failure to apply this line boldly and unhesitatingly; (c) the tendency to retreat before, or capitulate to, the illusions about the N.R.A., failure to develop the struggle against it as the precondition for all revolutionary advance.

These are all expressions of the danger of right opportunism within our ranks. This is the main danger against which all forces of the Party must be concentrated in an intolerant struggle, until the poison is eliminated from the Party's work.

Typical examples of this right danger are: fear to bring forward the revolutionary unions (Murray-Ohio plant, Cleveland, Allentown), and the attempt to find all sorts of substitutes indistinguishable from the reformist unions; weakness in initiating struggles, and consequent inadequate counteracting of the treacherous maneuvers of the reformists; retreat before the "red scare", fear to bring the *Daily Worker* into the mass struggles and trade unions, hiding the face of the Party, hesitation to bring forward decisively the Party principles and program, the revolutionary way out of the crisis among the broad masses (in strikes, elections and daily propaganda of the Party), and consequent failure to recruit members, build fractions, and consolidate the Party in the midst of struggles. This is further shown in weaknesses in applying the united front policy; the tendency to accept top negotiations and committees as substitutes for activities among the masses which build the united front from below in struggle; inadequately concrete political exposure of the social fascist misleaders and consequent weak mobilization of the masses in struggle against their policies of betrayal.

The right danger is seen on the Negro question in tendencies of evasion or capitulation to white chauvinism (San Francisco, in an intolerable ignoring of the Negroes in the election program and

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

slate of candidates). Unless we fight against and overcome this right danger, we cannot raise the class consciousness of the workers.

The right danger is the main obstacle to the broadening and deepening of the united front of struggle, to the revolutionization of the masses, and to the ideological, political and organizational consolidation of the revolutionary trade union movement and the Communist Party.

8. The right danger goes hand in hand with capitulation tendencies masked with left phrases. This is expressed in empty slogan-shouting, substitution of epithets for political argument, doctrinaire and rigid approach to united front efforts among the masses, "Communist vanity", and the attitude of "superiority" to the workers with consequent "commandeering" attitude and violation of working class democracy. This "left" danger is only the other side of right opportunism, the main danger, and must be fought against with equal intolerance.

ORGANIZE BROADEST UNITED FRONT IN WORKERS' STRUGGLES

9. *The Open Letter remains in full force the basic statement of the Party weaknesses and tasks in the present period.* It is and must remain the daily guide to the Party in its activities and education, in all its tasks.

These tasks are, the mobilizing and organizing of the broadest united front in the workers' struggles for their economic and political demands against the increasing attacks under the flag of the N.R.A.; activization of the struggles of the unemployed, especially now for winter relief, and the fight for unemployment insurance; ending the most dangerous neglect of serious work in the A. F. of L., and even also in the independent unions, and developing a broad mass opposition movement for which the present situation is especially favorable; rousing and organizing the masses against colonial oppression in Latin America, the Philippines, and China, and against war and fascism.

DEEPENING OF CRISIS HASTENS WAR OUTBREAK

10. With the continued deepening of the crisis, and rapidly intensifying danger of war, with the sharpening of the workers' struggles and their broadening to include new millions of workers, with the increased tempo of development of fascist suppression of these struggles, hand in hand with the increased activity of social fascist misleaders (including the despicable renegades from Communism), it is necessary, more quickly and decisively, to overcome all obstacles to the carrying out of the Open Letter, to energetically

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and persistently carry out the control tasks, and periodically check up on their execution, to develop our Party as a consolidated mass Party, rooted in the most decisive factories and industries.

It is necessary more boldly to draw into leading positions the new, fresh workers—actives that develop in the struggles, in order to replace those who have shown themselves unable in practice to carry out the Open Letter.

TASKS OF EVERY PARTY UNIT

11. *Special emphasis must be laid upon the daily tasks of every Party unit, fraction and committee to (a) recruit immediately into the Party the broad surrounding circle of supporters and especially the most active fighters in the struggles now going on; (b) a real drive to establish mass circulation of the Daily Worker as an indispensable weapon of all struggles of the working class; to consolidate the improvements already made and to strengthen the Daily Worker as an agitator and organizer, and as an instrument to carry out the Open Letter; (c) build the revolutionary trade unions and opposition in the reformist unions, develop them as the real leaders of the growing struggles, paying special attention to the masses newly recruited into the A. F. of L., prepare for the coming convention of the T.U.U.L., clarify the role of the Communists and the Party fractions in the trade unions; (d) give serious attention to carrying out the Party decisions on building a mass youth movement and Y.C.L.; (e) develop and extend the mass movement of the unemployed, build the Unemployed Councils as the leading fighters for one united unemployed movement, and develop a broad mass campaign for unemployment insurance; (f) strengthen the work among the Negroes, especially for winning them into the trade unions, unemployed councils, share-croppers' union, etc., and organize a broad national liberation movement in the L.S.N.R.; (g) more serious extension of the Party among the farmers, leadership and support to their struggles, and practical assistance to the successful carrying out of the Second National Conference of the Farmers Committee of Action; (h) to extend activities among working class women and draw them into struggles against N.R.A. in factories, among unemployed and against increased cost of living; (i) build the united front movement against war and fascism on the broadest basis.*

12. Three months of carrying out the Open Letter in active participation in class struggles, have shown that in the Party and its growing circle of sympathizers there exist those forces which can and will carry out these tasks. *It is now necessary to have a full*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mobilization of these forces, to bring them all into activity and into posts of leadership, develop searching self-criticism of all weaknesses and mistakes, to thrust aside all hampering and obstructing elements, to overcome all weaknesses and obstacles, develop self-initiative from below, with activization of every Party member and unit and to march forward to the winning of the decisive strata of the American workers who will lead the entire working class and exploited masses into the coming decisive class battles.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is not merely an administrative and governmental 'top', skillfully selected by a careful hand of an experienced strategist and 'wisely leaning' on that or the other stratum of the population. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a class union of the workers and of the toiling masses of peasantry for the overthrow of capital, for the final victory of Socialism, and on condition that the proletariat shall be the guiding force of this union."—STALIN.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For an Intensive Struggle Against Right Opportunism

By E. EDWARDS

(*Speech at* 17th *Central Committee Meeting, C. P., U. S. A., October* 14-15, 1933)

I THINK Comrade Browder is absolutely correct when he declares that the fight against Right obstacles must be taken up in this Plenum if we want to make a further step or a serious step forward in carrying through the Open Letter.

We do not speak about these Right mistakes because we think that from time to time it is necessary for the Communist Party to confess its Right errors and put down on record that it is necessary to conduct a fight against the Right danger, but because we see so many cases of Right deviations in the Party which must be ruthlessly combatted and overcome if the Party is to make a decisive step forward. These errors are bad enough, but they would not be half so bad providing the Party were alive to these mistakes and reacted to them. Instead, in all districts without exception, there is a dangerous indifference to this question. For example, what the Party is doing in the elections one can hardly imagine possible in a Communist Party. Yet, if one goes to Cleveland for instance, the district bureau is not even alarmed about it. They do not use the *Daily Worker* or *The Communist,* to educate the members on the purposes of participating in parliamentary actions, to bring forward at each step the various alien influences that may creep into our election activity and to analyze the lessons of our work in these elections. When we see such Right mistakes, during strikes and in the present organization drive, as hiding the face of the Party and even that of the revolutionary unions, then it brings forward sharply the necessity for the Party to tighten up if we really want to put the Open Letter into effect.

We must mobilize and educate the Party on the basis of such mistakes. The most serious thing is the very weak reaction of our leading cadres to the Right mistakes. Why is the struggle against every manifestation of the Right danger so important especially at this time? Because we see changing class relations in this country. The Open Letter spoke about this quite clearly. What we see in this country today is the proletariat coming more and more into the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forefront as the fighter, the leader of all the toiling masses against their misery and starvation. This is taking place despite all the weaknesses and the many illusions prevalent in the ranks of the proletariat, and even though the Communist Party is not yet the leader of this class which leads the whole toiling population. When we compare the situation in this country today with four or five months ago, who can deny that the mass struggles of the proletariat are taking on new force? The direction of this movement of the proletariat and the growing revolutionary forces will depend precisely, as the Open Letter states, on what role we play, on what tempo we are able to give to these fighting, struggling masses, on how much leadership we can give them. If we do not understand this and make the comrades in the Party fully understand this, then all our talk about the activization of the Party, all talk about fighting against Right opportunism, will not have any effect.

Why is it, comrades, that we never heard so much talk in the Party about the illusions of the workers as we do in the last few months? Precisely at a time when we have the biggest, the most militant struggles of the workers, we hear the most talk about the illusions of the workers. This is so, not only among our leading comrades, but in all Party organizations, in all nuclei. This entire talk is our fault. We are responsible, because we have not given sufficient political education to our membership.

What are these opportunistic deviations? Is it a disbelief in the masses—that the masses will not fight? Of course, the masses will fight. This is seen so clearly today that no one can deny it. The concrete form of the opportunistic deviations is a disbelief that we as Communists can organize and mobilize the masses, that the masses will fight under our leadership. This is the concrete form of the opportunistic deviations today. These tendencies, however, have more or less created the theory that the masses will not fight under our leadership, that they will not be led and organized by us. However, these comrades do not always draw the conclusion in practice that we cannot fight. They say, yes, we can fight, but only on condition that we forget that we are Communists, only then will the masses fight under our leadership.

This is exactly what we find in hundreds of instances, in strike struggles, in our elections, etc. Why don't the masses fight with us? Because the masses have illusions, they say. But, let us see what these illusions are. We must clear this up for ourselves, because if we ourselves are clear and also bring clarity to our membership, then we can more readily prevent all the practical mistakes which we now make. Then what are these illusions, comrades? Do we

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

understand by these illusions that the workers are not for the dictatorship of the proletariat? This is an old fact—the overwhelming majority of the American workers are not yet for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only a very small minority of these workers are conscious Communists. We didn't make this discovery today. But, comrades, I ask quite seriously: Before we had the Recovery Act, were the workers all for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and today, since the Recovery Act, have they illusions in capitalism? We had tremendous strikes before. Still, we did not have among the workers the consciousness of the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat or of Communism. We had certain strata of workers who began to understand that the capitalist system cannot give them anything. There was developing in the ranks of the proletariat, in different degrees of sharpness, the conviction that this present stage of things can't go on, that the "big heroic" industrial leaders have become bankrupt, that they can expect nothing from them. This was even beginning to seep into the ranks of the petty bourgeois masses. We saw what we called at that time a growing upsurge and radicalization. What has begun now after the accumulated misery of four years of the crisis is a gathering of the forces of the proletariat to combat the added onslaughts of the Roosevelt New Deal and to regain some of the old positions won by the proletariat in past years.

The bourgeoisie and the government saw this dangerous situation of the proletariat, in fact saw this very clearly, sometimes much more clearly than we did. The government and the Recovery Act, with the view of preventing this growing movement among the workers, then spoke to them, "Well, we will end these bad times". They spoke as Hitler speaks about Germany, but applied to American conditions. They said, "We have been rugged individualists", "The old times cannot come back", in this manner carrying on widespread propaganda to convince the workers that we really have new times, "even a revolution". They then said to the workers, "You can organize in order to collaborate with us". Of course this skillful action of the bourgeoisie, which has an ear to the masses, is the attempt to answer this process of upsurge.

Then let us take the question of illusions. If we analyze the strike wave which is rapidly spreading, not only by studying statistics, but if we really try to find out what are the new features of the strike wave, then we must ask: Are these strikes purely economic strikes which we had previously, or are there some new important features in these strikes which we must understand if we are to react correctly to the present situation and become the lead-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing political party of the proletariat? This is essential, if we are to win the workers not only for today, but actually to gain permanent leadership of the workers.

What are these new features? We see that most of the strikes have definite counter-offensive elements: the workers are fighting for more wages and better conditions. Of course, we know that under conditions of inflation, under conditions of speed-up, the gains are often lost faster than they are won. But everybody will agree that the workers are fighting more and more on the offensive. It is a new feature, this militant character of the strikes and of the upsurge. Whoever overlooks this, overlooks a most important consideration.

Secondly, we have been discussing for years the importance of "linking up", of linking up something with something else, and we have had a peculiar sickness, we do not link up anything. But the workers have shown us how to link up various issues. They have shown us how to link up economic demands with partial political demands. This is the second important feature. What is the character, for instance, of the demand for the freedom to organize? Freedom to organize is a partial political demand. We had this slogan in the presidential election. The workers have learned how to link up such demands with their economic demands in the struggles. Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in the miners' strike.

What is the main feature of the miners' strike? It is a strike for partial political demands. What is the slogan of the shoe workers, silk workers, or auto workers on strike? In every strike today, to a greater or lesser degree, the workers are linking up, not only the fight for increase in wages, for 20c, 30c, 40c an hour, but for the right of organization, against political suppression, etc. Many comrades present a very narrow concept of the struggles of the American workers. They say that the American proletariat will fight only for purely economic demands. We have to correct this conception. True, the workers have many illusions, but the workers understand that we must fight not only for economic demands, but more than ever today, for the right of our class to organize itself. This is a new, very important militant feature of these big class battles. (Interjection by Minor: "The right to picket.") Well, I speak of the right to organize, the right to picket—all these features.

Yes, comrades, we must see these new features in the development of the militant struggles of the workers without forgetting that in our approach we have to clear away many illusions of the workers; but we must also understand that the workers on the basis of their practical experiences are learning faster than ever to rid themselves of their illusions, of their petty bourgeois and social reformist

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

influences. But, notwithstanding these illusions, the workers are marching. The question of the tempo of the march, the question of the organization of this march, and especially the direction which it will take, will depend in the main on which way we, *that means the Party,* become the decisive leading factor of this workers' movement. There are comrades who say the workers have illusions and therefore the workers fight. We have no illusions and therefore, it would seem, we don't fight.

The second problem: Speculations (which, by the way, also exist in our Party) about such questions as: Will the A. F. of L. sweep the country, or will it not? Certainly, we must very carefully watch the developments, the tendencies of the movement, even down to every factory. But this question cannot be answered by speculation. Certainly we know one thing—the Open Letter stated this clearly: The A. F. of L. and the social fascists are and will remain the main instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisie to suppress and impede the workers' movement. This we know. It is clear that social fascism is the main weapon. But, comrades, to what degree will they succeed? This is also pointed out in the Open Letter. This depends on our leadership of strikes, on our ability to build the revolutionary unions and the mass oppositions in the A. F. of L., on our ability to react and give leadership to every issue agitating the workers, and, what is inseparable from all this, to expose politically the social fascist leaders and those elements within our ranks who prevent the carrying through of such a struggle or who capitulate before the social fascists. On this will depend whether we succeed in isolating the social fascists from the masses of workers or whether they isolate us. We are just now making the test. Every day, every struggle, is a test between us and the social fascists as to who will lead the workers. This is primarily a question of our mass revolutionary work, of further improving the practical mass work of our Party.

If we look at many things which we sometimes do in the districts, we begin to realize that it is no wonder the workers are afraid of us. The workers in this situation not only have experiences with the bourgeoisie, the government and with the social fascists, but they also have experiences with the Communists. What are the experiences they have with us? I think that we can all agree that today to some extent they have better experiences with us in every district than heretofore. Every district has one or two tremendous strikes on its hands and is participating in or leading these strikes. But I won't speak about the good side of the work. I will speak only about the weak features. What are the experiences of the workers with us? How can we expect the workers to have confidence

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in us as Communists, as able leaders in their daily struggles, when in these struggles that we lead, where we even gain victories, when at the time when we have the closest connection with the workers, we hide or deny that we are Communists? What does it mean when a Communist leads a strike and denies he is a Communist, or when he leads a union and denies that he is a Communist? How do the workers look upon this? Such action only helps to organize the red scare. You will ask how? If we are connected with the workers and are good fighters, and then deny that we are Communists, we are only helping the propaganda of the bourgeoisie and the social fascists directed against us. In this way, those activities of our Party through which we gain the trust of the workers do not help to strengthen and develop the Party into a mass Party, but, on the contrary, become a means through which to weaken our leadership. What is worse, we create the red scare. When, at the moment of having the greatest confidence of the workers, we deny that we are Communists, or hide the face of the Party, then we help to strengthen the conception in the ranks of the workers created by the bourgeois and social fascist propaganda that we are not a party of the workers, daily defending their needs and interests, but that we are some mysterious sect having damaging plans and intentions. In this manner we really help to bolster up the red scare rather than combat it.

In this connection take the *Daily Worker*, which could be an important weapon in gaining wider strata of the workers for our leadership. I shall not speak here of the open resistance to the distribution of the *Daily Worker* (during strikes, at mass meetings, etc.) —a resistance which arises from these opportunistic deviations, but I will deal with the attitude of the so-called good districts. In Chicago, we have, after many months of campaigning, increased the *Daily* Worker by 1,060 copies. Can we be satisfied with this? How can anyone deny, how can any leading comrade in the districts deny, (I will not single any one out now) that we have shown negligence and indifference to the *Daily Worker?* No one can deny it. We not only have complete laxity in the organization of the circulation of the *Daily Worker*, which in itself is a scandal, but a failure to utilize the *Daily Worker*. How do we use the *Daily Worker?* How many of the comrades use the *Daily Worker* to mobilize the membership for work, for the carrying through of the tasks, for the exchange of experiences? Very, very few. The *Daily* reaches only a small portion of the workers. The workers today read the propaganda in the capitalist press, they get propaganda in the church, etc., they hear about us only from the enemy, or in small cases have practical experience with us; but we do

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not use the *Daily Worker* as an instrument to overcome this gap, to reach out to the workers and to bring to them our position on the day-to-day problems and on the program of the Party.

Or let us take our general agitation and propaganda. Look at the political life in the districts, even at this time, when the elections could be a weapon in our hands, a weapon in the class struggle. How are we carrying through the election campaigns? Many comrades believe that elections hamper our work. We do not recognize that the elections are inseparably connected with all our mass work. We do not use this period to reach out to new sections of the proletariat. Sometimes we tell the workers what the Communist Party stands for. But that is not enough. I think that we have many good fights in Pittsburgh; but the fact that at this time Pittsburgh is not on the ballot, in a situation where we should arouse the whole working mass against the steel trust, is a serious political weakness. (Interjection by Comrade Johnstone: "When they throw you off the ballot, what are you going to do? We had 2,000 more signatures than were needed, and they told us we had to get an affidavit to prove every signature valid, and so they put us off the ballot.") For instance, in Cleveland. The comrades protested against having an anti-war meeting with Comrade Barbusse. Has this anything to do with politics? Surely, the District Organizer should be glad and even fight to get Barbusse to speak in Cleveland. But no, just at the time when the war situation is most menacing, the comrades protest against a meeting with Barbusse. Has this anything to do with correct political leadership?

Take the question of fascism, the fight against German fascism. In the districts it is very often considered that the campaign against German fascism will hamper our political activity. On all such questions which give us an opportunity to free the workers of the red scare, questions in which the workers are interested; questions which would help us strengthen the political life among the workers, especially in connection with the practical day to day fights—these questions are not brought sufficiently forward. And even where we do write resolutions on German fascism, on Cuba, or on any other such question, do we inform the workers of our unions about it? Of course not. The wires or resolutions in practically all instances are sent by the secretary, the leader or leading body of the organization. The workers are never drawn into a discussion of these questions, they are never aroused to take action on these issues. And yet, in the A. F. of L. Convention we see how the bureaucrats were compelled, because of the anti-fascist pressure from below, to make certain maneuvers in connection

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with a boycott against German goods. But we, on the other hand, are afraid to bring the anti-fascist issue into the revolutionary unions, although these questions are burning issues of interest to every single worker. This does not mean that we should revert to the old days when we completely forgot about the United States and spoke only about China, Cuba, war, etc., and made out of the revolutionary unions very bad duplicates of the Communist Party. But the present action has within it similar great dangers for the further development of the unions and for the further development of our work.

Now about our propaganda. We have learned one good thing in this connection. Agitation and propaganda alone will not organize the American working class for the struggle for power. We learned this in our practice. But today we have the reverse situation. The notion exists that we can have better connections with the masses without any agitation and propaganda. But what happens if this tendency is permitted to exist? We would lose sight of the fact that we are not only organizing the workers to improve their material conditions today, but have the task of winning them for further struggles. And our agitation and propaganda can and must play a tremendous role in helping to educate and develop the class consciousness of the workers.

How are we going to raise the class consciousness of the workers if we leave the question of propaganda, the question of power, the question of the proletarian dictatorship, the question of the revolutionary way out of the crisis—all these fundamental questions, to the bourgeois and social-fascist press? If we do not improve our mass propaganda connected with the daily fights, we cannot have a correct line for mobilizing and preparing the American workers for power. Can we find a better situation than today, a more favorable situation to bring forward this propaganda, not in an abstract manner, but very concretely? Comrade Gebert is correct when he says "that every economic strike is connected up with the problems of the State machinery, Recovery boards, intervention of Roosevelt in struggles, etc." Is it possible then today to lead strikes, without at the same time exposing the social fascists, without making clear to the workers every one of their acts, without sharply bringing forward the fundamental differences between us and them? Where we fail to do this in the struggles that are taking place, we are not helping to strengthen our leadership, influence and organization, but that of the social fascists. The average worker will listen to what we have to say. Will he listen more than ever before? Of course he will. The workers today are more than ready to listen to these questions. But we hesitate to bring them forward.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Some questions about the united front: The resolution gives some good examples of the united front. I agree only partially with this estimation in regard to Cleveland. We had the Cleveland Conference, we had other good conferences, the Mooney Conference, the Anti-War Conference, etc. But the failure to put into action the decisions of these conferences is not only a question of forgetting, not only a question of poor memory. I think that here are expressed some basic weaknesses of our united front from below. We see in most cases the necessity for preparing for such conferences; but more important is the carrying out of the decisions of the conferences. But we forget the basic content of our united front policy, that is, to mobilize the masses for the united front from below to carry through the decisions of the conferences. The Cleveland Conference gives us a very good example in this respect.

We have in England the united front policy of the British comrades towards the Independent Labor Party. There the situation is that the Party made a united front appeal to the I.L.P. What is our Party doing there? There, we have connections with sections of the membership and the lower organizations of the I.L.P., although the leadership—the Brockways, the British brothers of Muste—tries to prevent such a united front. This is a correct policy to win the majority of the I.L.P. over to the Communist Party. But what is our policy here in regard to Muste? We have discussions and agreements on the top, but we don't do anything below. But if we don't follow this up by a very energetic fight below, we shall not weaken social fascism, we shall strengthen it. What is the case in Ohio? We are not organizing a real campaign to take the workers away from the Musteites. I hope Amter will speak and will show that this can be done. We very often forget that if we have such conferences as the Cleveland conference, the task has only started. If we don't follow out the task fundamentally, if we don't criticize every act of sabotage of united front decisions, we shall not help ourselves, but our enemies. If we don't go to the workers and establish united front actions from below, we can't succeed. This I think we should correct and strengthen.

Comrades, we are not downhearted because we have had a defeat in Ambridge. We shall have many defeats. Only a fool could believe that we shall march from one victory to another until we reach our goal. That is nonsense.

Another thing I want to raise is the carrying through of the many decisions made in regard to the steel union. I was at many meetings of the District Bureau where many concrete tasks were laid down, how to strengthen and consolidate the union, etc. I

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

heard five or six times, the statements of the steel comrades that these are correct, that they must be carried out. But nothing was done. Of course we have to sometimes excuse the comrades, we have to be patient with them, but we cannot be patient at the cost of our organization. If there are instances where the comrades cannot as yet carry out the decisions made, then we have to educate them still further, to the point where they will carry them out, but not to the point of affecting or weakening the organization.

I had fully expected every district organizer to come here with a sheet of paper where he would enumerate the tasks decided upon three months ago and then analyze what had been done since that time. I don't deny that relatively in many cases, we have done very much, that we have built unions, led big struggles, etc. But this cannot satisfy us, not only because we could do more, but because the comrades have not shown persistency in the carrying through of the control tasks. If we give ourselves a task, we should carry it out, step by step. There is no contradiction, comrades, between the mass fight and these control tasks that we have laid down. These tasks, if carried through, will help to consolidate our Party, the unions and develop our revolutionary mass work. What is the status then of our concentration in the factories, in the steel industry, in the packing houses in Chicago, in the Ford plant, in No. 10 mine in the Pittsburgh district? Comrades, what is it? What about these tasks? We have decided upon these tasks, and we, as leading comrades, should carry them out. How is anybody to take seriously our decisions, if we don't? I don't want to give the impression that the comrades made no attempt to carry out these control tasks. In some instances they even made some progress. There was a serious attempt in Pittsburgh and other districts to carry out these tasks. But we should clearly understand that, notwithstanding all mass struggles that have taken place recently, our control tasks still remain as the tasks which have to be carried out. We have given ourselves the task of carrying out the decisions of the Open Letter and I think we should stand by them until they are fulfilled. If we find as a result of our experiences that it is better to concentrate on another factory, we would be idiots to stick to the one we are working on. We can be flexible even with our decisions, but, comrades, in a very careful manner, by a discussion with your Bureau. Above all, however, carry out these decisions.

The decisions in regard to the control tasks, for factory concentration, the struggle for unemployment insurance, increasing the circulation of the *Daily Worker*, building our Party,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

development of cadres, education of our membership, financial responsibility, etc., must be constantly checked up and carried through. In the process of this work, we have experienced resistance and inability to carry out these tasks, we have seen comrades who are an obstacle to the execution of these tasks. It is necessary not only to conduct a struggle against opportunist deviations, but to bring forward those elements who are proving today in the practical mass work that they can carry through the Open Letter.

In connection with fulfilling our control tasks I want to deal briefly with two questions. First, the youth. I want to emphasize one question here that must be understood by everyone. We do not yet understand that if we do not get the American young workers, and it is not a question of the Y.C.L. in a narrow sense, we cannot have real mass struggle, we cannot conduct a real fight against war and fascism. These things cannot be done effectively if we do not strengthen our influence among the large strata of American young workers. The work among the youth has to be developed in every district and in every union.

If the young workers come and ask for help, how do we support them? How do we try to find out, together with them, the way to the masses? How do we bring the young comrades in our unions to the forefront and help them to become real mass leaders of the youth, to push them ahead? We should know better than these young comrades, we should help them in their work, give them daily assistance and guidance. But we don't. And the T.U.U.L. does this least. In fact, we even have a contempt for youth work in the revolutionary unions. This, despite the fact that the young miners, the young steel workers were in the forefront of the recent struggles. Comrades, the question of organizing the Y.C.L. into a mass organization, the question of organizing the young workers, is a problem of nation-wide importance. About this the Open Letter spoke very clearly.

The second question is the Negro question. We must say clearly, and I get this from my observation of the work of the Party ir the various districts, not speaking now of concrete forms of white chauvinism, that there is opportunistic under-estimation of the necessity for winning the Negro workers for the revolutionary movement, of drawing the Negro workers into the mass struggles, into the unions, into our Party. The Party is not yet sufficiently sensitive to the real problems of the Negro masses. How many times have we spoken about the necessity of drawing the Negro workers into the revolutionary unions? But what did we accomplish? So far, only few Negro workers can be found in the ranks of our revolutionary unions.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Open Letter spoke very clearly about the strategic role played by the liberation movement in the struggle for power in the United States. What does the failure to meet this problem and begin serious work to organize the liberation movement of the Negro masses mean? This means an underestimation of one of the most important revolutionary tasks of the Party. As in other questions, we have no clear understanding of the revolutionary significance of this work, of winning the Negro masses under our leadership. We too readily forget the importance of the questions as soon as we have written them down in a resolution.

I want to say some concluding words. Comrades, I agree absolutely with the formulation in the resolution that the Party has made some serious beginnings. I think that we have reasons to be glad about these beginnings. We can be proud about many things. We have led masses, developed struggles, organized and built unions. If we criticize our weaknesses today, it is not because we underestimate what we have done, but because we see that we are not going forward at a sufficiently rapid tempo in keeping up with the developing situation in the country.

Comrades, what is the perspective for the Party? We speak about the growing fascist development. We see today that the Roosevelt government tries to prepare for a big sweeping campaign against the workers, especially against the militant workers and the Communists. They say the radical workers are preventing recovery. This is an attempt to draw in and mobilize the petty bourgeois masses and the backward workers in a drive against the Communists. This has to be clearly understood.

We must lead the workers. We must consolidate the Party. It is no accident that the Open Letter in one paragraph says it was possible for the German Communist Party to withstand all the pressure only because it had a firm connection with the workers. We must understand this especially now in the light of the concerted attack of the whole State machinery against the workers. In these struggles that will take place we have to build and consolidate our lower organizations, we have to weld firmer our connections with the masses in the factories, to sink those solid roots in the factory, to make it impossible for the bourgeois reign of terror to destroy them. To accomplish this, especially in view of the present situation, requires a much more rapid tempo. This situation demands the rallying of all our energies and forces to carrying through the Open Letter.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Coming Pan-American Conference at Montevideo

By LUCILE PERRY

PRETENDING to have divested itself of all imperialist designs, and anxious to convert Latin America into one big family of "good neighbors", American imperialism will send its most polished representatives to Montevideo, Uruguay, to attend the coming Seventh Pan-American Conference.

The magic formula of the Monroe Doctrine: "Latin America belongs to the United States", has assumed many forms. Under it whole countries have been held by American armed forces for decades, cities have been bombed, fake revolutions fomented to further the interests of Yankee imperialism, treaties rammed down at the point of bayonets, millions of acres of land plundered, and thousands of natives slaughtered.

At this moment a huge armada encircles the island of Cuba, standing with deadly significance, waiting to crush the liberation movement of the Cuban masses.

The persistence, penetration and precision of this doctrine are characteristics of United States imperialism in one of its most fundamental forms, colonial domination. An aggressive political expression of Latin American domination by the United States, Pan-Americanism is a weapon that is turned against the similar aims and aggressions of rival imperialisms, principally British.

Today this weapon is wielded at a most crucial moment. Redivision of the colonies of the world, brought about by force of arms, looms as the only imperialist way out of the four-year-old world crisis of capitalism. The Far East is one storm center. Japanese imperialism moves through Manchuria and part of China, cutting into the domain of Wall Street interests, endangering those of Great Britain. Japan moves closer toward invasion of the Soviet Union, encouraged and supported by world imperialism.

Another storm center is Latin America, a vast fertile continent, the possession of which has been narrowed down to primarily two contestants, the United States and Great Britain.

What is this rich prize so hotly contested?

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

South America and the Caribbean cover an area of approximately 8,000,000 square miles and contain a population in excess of 100,000,000. Countries and groups of countries in this area lead in the export of many raw materials and foodstuffs: Argentina's exports of wheat in 1931 rose to 30 per cent of all the wheat sold in the world; Mexico is the leading silver exporter of the world; in the export of beef, Argentina and Uruguay assume first place. The South American continent, (chiefly Bolivia) is the second largest producer of tin, and a tremendous factor in the production and export of sugar, petroleum, nitrates and coffee.

To extract this wealth and secure new markets, British and American imperialism have sunk huge investments of their "surplus capital" into this continent. In 1931 the total investments of these countries was approximately $12,000,000,000, equally divided. One-third of all American foreign investments, and one-fourth of all British make up this tremendous figure. The financial interests of other imperialist powers in the Caribbean and South America are relatively unimportant.

Prior to the World War, Great Britain was the dominant imperialist power in this quarter of the world, with investments of almost $5,000,000,000, compared with U. S. investments of $1,240,000,000, $1,000,000,000 of which was concentrated in Mexico and Cuba. The War brought a shift of forces. The United States, by taking advantage of Britain's preoccupation with the battlefields of Europe, was able to make great inroads into the domain of its imperialist rival, and emerged from the War, not only as the outstanding creditor nation, but with official recognition by the League of Nations of the Monroe Doctrine—a recognition of United States hegemony in Latin America. During the period 1913-1929, United States investments in Latin America jumped 350 per cent, while British investments increased only 18 per cent.

In addition to their importance as sources of raw materials and spheres for the export of capital, the countries of the Caribbean and South America play an important role as a market for finished products. In 1914, for example, United States exports to Latin America amounted to $280,000,000, representing 11.92 per cent of the total exports. In 1921 exports to Latin America rose to $1,313,000,000 or 21.9 per cent of total U. S. exports.

The "prosperity" contest of the British and American rival imperialists was as nothing compared with the Anglo-American conflict of the crisis years. The world crisis of capitalism fell with a deadening weight on the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Dependent on the world market for the determination of prices (and in turn reacting on world prices), and restricted by imperial-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ism to a general line of monoculture, their economy was the first to be hit. Widespread unemployment and an even greater reduction of wages ensued, seriously curtailing the already small purchasing power of the masses. Because of the agrarian nature of these countries and the tendency toward monoculture, the crisis had a particularly devastating effect on the peasantry which, even in times of "prosperity", was consistently maintained in a state of poverty through excessive taxation, systematic expropriation and imperialist control of the market. The effect can be seen in the present rising of the peasants.

Closely interwoven with the economy of imperialism, this drastic curtailment was immediately reflected in the United States. Conversely, imperialism, forced by overproduction at home to extend its world market, was confronted with a constantly dwindling one.

A glance at commerce figures will show the sharpness of this development. In 1920, U. S. imports from Latin America were $1,774,000,000; in 1927, $1,000,000,000; in 1929, $950,000,000; and in 1932 $408,000,000, a decline from 1920 of 77 per cent! United States exports to Latin America, which amounted to $1,160,000,000 in 1920, dropped to $835,000,000 in 1929 and to $230,000,000 in 1932, a decline of 80 per cent!

In addition to this sheer drop in commerce, a particular source of desperation for United States imperialism appears in the fact that it has suffered to a greater extent than Great Britain in Latin America. While in 1929 the United States supplied more than 31 per cent of all Latin American imports, this share dropped to 27 per cent in 1930, 23 per cent in 1931 and declined further in 1932. Britain's share in Latin American trade has increased slightly.

The Monroe Doctrine is the political expression of Yankee domination in the Caribbean and South America. Enunciated in 1823 as the defensive policy of a blooming free capitalist economy, it attempted to stay the hand of the powerful European nations, especially Great Britain, Spain and France. At first little more than an aspiration, it has become an aggressive instrument of imperialism, serving principally as the basis for intervention when American interests are threatened in this region, and for the forceful displacement of rival imperialisms.

Despite the servility of the native bourgeois-landlord governments to one or another imperialism, this doctrine of "America for the United States", as an open expression of imperialist control, has more or less continuously been opposed by the countries of Latin America.

To counter Pan-Americanism, Great Britain has built up its own instruments. Her maneuvers are conducted principally through

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Argentina, the traditional center of British influence. Argentina is in a relatively strong position as compared with the other countries of Latin America and has been able to advance her interests by flirting occasionally with American imperialism, and playing one against the other in order to gain concessions for the native ruling class. On the whole, she takes a definitely pro-British stand. A recent move in this direction was Argentina's re-entrance into the League of Nations, one day before signing a trade pact with Great Britain, with a reservation declining to accept Article 21 of the League, which provides for recognition of the Monroe Doctrine. On September 8th, she sent a note to the U. S. State Department making clear that she would oppose any intervention in Cuba. These moves are accompanied by an effort to build up "South American Unity" as a weapon against Pan-Americanism. A further step toward consolidating British influence can be seen in the seven new trade treaties concluded by Argentina with Brazil and in the special treaty, sponsored by Argentina, with Chile, Brazil and Paraguay. Some Argentine newspapers have openly proposed indefinite postponement of the coming Pan-American Conference.

Additional political instruments of British imperialism to offset Pan-Americanism are the A.B.C.P. bloc (Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Peru) and Aprism. The A.B.C.-Peru bloc pro-British maneuvers were evident in the attempts to "conciliate" the Colombia-Peru and the Bolivia-Paraguay wars, as opposed to the blocs created by the United States. Aprism, the ism of A.P.R.A. (Popular Revolutionary Alliance of America), created in the head of the Peruvian Haya de la Torre, offers a detailed program for liberation from Yankee imperialism, internationalization of the Panama Canal, and so on, which would be of the greatest benefit to British imperialism.

In seeking to extricate themselves from the crisis, British and American imperialism inaugurated an intensified offensive for the effective control of the countries of Latin America.

This was evident in the fight between the dollar and the pound. By going off the gold standard, Great Britain was for a time able to cheapen the pound sufficiently to extend greatly her export market. This was reflected in increased trade with South America. The world's chief creditor could not easily afford to abandon the gold standard to meet this attack. However, it finally found it necessary to take this step, and just as Ramsay McDonald was en route to the United States for a "friendly" conference prior to the London Economic Conference, America went off the gold standard. The battle to maintain the cheapest currency has followed.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Great Britain's answer to America's abandonment of the gold standard was to announce just before the opening of the London Conference, a new trade agreement with Argentina, providing for reduced tariffs on Great Britain's most important articles of export. Through this pact, which was signed in September, Great Britain greatly consolidated her position in South America. It was a heavy blow to the United States whose exports to Argentina had dropped early in 1933 to one-tenth the 1929 figure, and who had been trying desperately to regain her position as chief exporter to that country.

The intensity of the basic antagonism between British and American imperialism resulted in 1932 in open warfare between Bolivia and Paraguay whose puppet governments represented respectively the United States and British imperialism. It was the outcome of the struggle between the Standard Oil Company (American) and the Royal Dutch (British) for control of the rich Chaco region. To the Standard Oil Company this would have meant an outlet to the Atlantic for the shipment of oil. Financial backing for Bolivia was provided by the Standard Oil Company and munitions were paid for out of a $23,000,000 bond issue floated for Bolivia in 1928 by Dillon, Read and Company, New York bankers.

The conflict between Colombia and Peru, though of a slightly different nature, was also basically motivated by the imperialist rivalry of the United States and England.

The masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries have suffered the heaviest blows of the crisis. The resultant unemployment and starvation wages have brought on great mass discontent and a growth of anti-imperialist sentiment, which greatly increases the difficulties of imperialist extension. That this mass discontent has not yet been crystallized into a strongly organized revolutionary movement is due to our relatively weak brother parties in the countries of Latin America, which although exceedingly militant are still immature. The very existence of these Communist Parties, however, creates an additional need for demagogy on the part of the imperialists to disarm the masses and thus make it possible for the native governments to "cooperate".

The interests of the native bourgeois-landlord class have become so closely identified with those of the imperialists that the struggle for liberation can be regarded not only as a threat to imperialism but as a threat to their own interests as well. Their role is to dicker with the imperialists for greater concessions, and serve as their agents. Against the revolutionary movement of the masses, they join in a united front of reaction with imperialism.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This is best exemplified in Cuba where the revolutionary movement has reached an exceedingly high level and where the treachery of the bourgeois-landlord class is shown in its most open form. In a recent bid for recognition broadcast over the American radio network, Grau San Martin brought out this identity of interest of the native bourgeois-landlord class and the imperialists. "If American property is endangered", he stated, "so is ours."

Recent events in Cuba reveal not only the rapidity with which a revolutionary situation can be created, but also the possibility of the rapid development of a similar movement throughout Latin America. Cuban events will bring forth important reverberations in all countries under the yoke of Yankee imperialism.

American imperialism is trying to surmount its difficulties in Latin America by an intensified and elaborate campaign of demagogy. The United States, President Roosevelt announces, directing his voice toward the South, is no longer an imperialist nation. The American vulture, having shed its claws, has turned over-night into a "good neighbor" anxious merely to promote friendly relations and mutually beneficial trade treaties with the countries of Latin America. The United States, in fact, has become such an ardent anti-imperialist that it openly attacks the imperialist ambitions of other, less virtuous countries. "The only threat to world peace lies in such people as still have imperialistic desires for expansion and domination", Roosevelt declared in an address over the radio (Oct. 13, 1933).

Let us examine the record of the "good neighbor".

The most recent, and most important development, is in Cuba. Here thirty United States warships are concentrated. But despite the threat to American property, armed occupation has not yet set in. We are told that this is due to Roosevelt's desire for the Cuban people to find their own solution to their own problem. The dispatch of the entire Atlantic fleet to Cuban waters, which is not considered intervention, was merely to protect the lives of American citizens. But if this is the purpose of the warships, why were they not sent down in 1928 when an American worker was murdered on the main thoroughfare of Havana by Machado's gun thugs; why were they not sent during the puppet Cespedes' brief hour of glory? Why were they dispatched only after the Welles-installed president was ousted by the revolutionary upsurge of the masses, after the workers and peasants had begun to take over American properties?

The answer is that American occupation would have set in long ago, were American imperialism not in such a tight hole. Military occupation in Cuba would spell the doom of the Montevideo Con-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ference in which American imperialism has placed such high hopes. It would place a weapon in the hands of Great Britain, its chief rival for the loot of South America. This hesitancy is also due to the fear of the repercussions that intervention might have in Latin America, especially on those under the domination of United States imperialism.

Fully aware of the danger the Cuban situation has created for American imperialism's plans for expansion in Latin America, President Roosevelt tried to swing the other countries of Latin America to the support of his action in Cuba by "consulting" with representatives of a number of these countries. He hoped to frighten them into submission by pointing to the dangers of the revolutionary situation in Cuba which was setting a bad example for the masses of all Latin America, and which constituted a threat not only to American imperialism but to the native ruling class as well.

This stupendous demagogy, however, should not blind us to the constant and imminent possibility of armed intervention, should the Grau San Martin government find itself unable to crush the revolutionary mass movement and recapture the property which has been seized by the workers and peasants. There will be no hesitancy when the upsurge of the masses, who will give a revolutionary solution to the crisis through a workers' and peasants' government, threatens directly to overthrow the bourgeois-landlord government.

On May 17th President Roosevelt cabled to 54 nations an appeal for peace and proposed a pact of non-aggression. One of the provisions of the proposed pact was: "That all nations . . . agree to send no armed forces of whatsoever nature across their frontiers". This magnificent gesture was clearly aimed at Japan, whose robber war in the Far East constituted a serious threat to American interests in China.

But it was also calculated to create illusions in Latin America. If no armed forces were to be sent across the border, then the Colossus of the North had indeed abandoned the hated Monroe Doctrine. The next day this proposal was qualified with "except under existing treaties". Evidently the Monroe Doctrine had not been abandoned after all. Now that armed forces have been sent across the border and are concentrated in Cuban waters the convenience of the "afterthought" is obvious. In this case the Platt Amendment is the "existing treaty". With or without the benefit of "existing treaties" there can be no question that American imperialism will continue to resort to force whenever its interests are seriously endangered.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On January 2nd of this year the last American marine was withdrawn from Nicaragua. This ended a military intervention which, except for a period of one year, had been in force for the past twenty years. But this withdrawal was made only after Sandino had agreed to give up the anti-imperialist struggle and offered the use of his followers as a police force; only after American marines had supervised the elections guaranteeing the elevation of the puppet Sacasa to the presidency; only after American imperialism had sufficiently strengthened its position in Nicaragua as to make direct control less necessary.

The treaty signed in August with Haiti provides for withdrawal of American marines within 14 months. But it also provides every safeguard for American imperialism. An American financial advisor is to remain in charge of the customs, the Garde d'Haiti will be under the supervision of an American military mission, and the Haitian government is responsible for seeing that the Garde "maintains public order". This treaty, which is essentially the same as that rejected by the Haitian Congress in 1932, was made an "executive agreement" so as to avoid the necessity of placing it before the Haitian Congress for ratification. The treaty was hastily concluded when disorders broke out in Cuba, to offset any action taken by the United States there.

The Hawes Bill for "independence" of the Philippines is also held up to prove that the United States is no longer imperialistically inclined: It provides for independence in ten years, if at the end of that period a constitution acceptable to the President of the United States is drawn up and a special treaty entered into with the United States. The military posts are to remain under American control.

Faced with the deepening crisis and the growth of a revolutionary upsurge in Latin America, American imperialism has devised a new formula of intervention—that of multilateral intervention. Roosevelt attempted to put this formula into practice when he appealed to the governments of Latin America to support him should intervention "become necessary" in Cuba. This is Pan-Americanism incarnate. American intervention would be carried out with the connivance of puppet governments. Under the guise of abandoning the Monroe Doctrine, through this new formula, United States imperialism would be utilizing its puppet governments to support the Doctrine of American domination. American imperialism could still intervene, but the guilt would be concealed. In application this new formula is possible only through puppet governments, in a period when the native bourgeois-landlord class, terrified

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by the revolutionary upsurge of the masses, is ready to sell out completely to its imperialist master.

It is on these demagogic maneuvers that the Roosevelt government bases its claim to a new policy of "non-imperialism". This claim is effectively disproved by the facts. American imperialism's pretensions to magnanimity cannot conceal the same old club behind its back.

The prospect for American imperialism at the coming Pan-American Conference is none too bright. Although treaties have been drafted with Colombia, Brazil and Argentina, constituting part of the projected customs union calculated to bind the countries of Latin America closer to the United States, which if signed would confer great benefits on American imperialism, the United States has not yet succeeded in concluding a single trade pact with any of the countries of Latin America. Great Britain, on the other hand, has greatly strengthened her position.

The countries of the Caribbean, Central America and Mexico where puppet governments have been installed, will probably fall in line. El Salvador, in its attempt to gain American recognition, promises again to bring up at the Montevideo Conference the formation of an American League of Nations which would necessarily be under the hegemony of the United States.

The situation in Cuba is a grave danger spot for American imperialism and will undoubtedly be used by Great Britain to advance her own interests with the countries of Latin America. Through her puppet governments she will attempt to expose this and the other maneuvers of American imperialism at the Pan-American Conference.

The overproduction of agricultural products and raw materials in the United States places an almost insuperable obstacle in the way of new trade treaties with Latin America, whose production is confined to raw materials only. Any trade agreements negotiated would have to be one sided. While the countries of Latin America must look to the outside world for finished products, they can pay for these only through exchanging their raw materials.

This is one of the basic contradictions of imperialism. To stimulate trade with Latin America is synonymous with encouraging the increased production and export of agricultural and mineral products, the only type of commodity colonial and semi-colonial countries are permitted to produce. By doing so, the depth of the crisis, characterized among other things by tremendous surpluses of raw materials, would only be intensified.

Moreover, the competition between commodities produced in both the home country of imperialism and the colonies and semi-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

colonies would be doubled. Petroleum for example—the United States has been forced to cut its own oil production. How could it promise a larger quota to Latin America? Sugar—what comfort could be given Cuba, when the production of sugar within the boundaries of the United States, and including the Philippines and Puerto Rico, has been greatly stimulated in recent years? What concessions could be made to Argentina on wheat and beef when American warehouses are bursting with wheat, and the meat market is in the hands of the Chicago meat-packing trust? In this respect, Great Britain has the advantage since she must import a greater share of her food products and raw materials.

The Seventh Pan-American Conference is above all a preparation for war, the only capitalist solution to the crisis. This war of imperialism for new markets, new sources of raw materials, new fields for investment and new masses to exploit, has already begun. In the Far East, Japan is waging a war against the colonial people of China and is preparing for an attack on the Soviet Union. In South America, imperialist antagonisms have brought war between Bolivia and Paraguay, between Colombia and Peru. United States imperialism is waging an undeclared war against the people of Cuba. These are but the prelude to a world-wide conflict for redivision of the colonies and a joint imperialist attack on the Soviet Union.

Faced on the one hand by Great Britain, on the other by Japan, American imperialism must arm herself for the coming conflict. Her war preparations at home, through a "second-to-none" naval program, through forced labor camps and the regimentation of labor under the National Industrial Recovery Act, must be complemented by preparations in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of Latin America. The sugar of Cuba, the tin of Bolivia, the nitrates of Chile, the wheat of Argentina, the oil of Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela are needed, bases of military operations such as Cuba, Central America and the west coast of South America must be made secure. The colonies and semi-colonies must be lined up as allies.

War preparations in the countries of Latin America are already taking form. In Mexico, for instance, a bill has been presented making universal military training compulsory. In the Canal Zone, West Indian Negroes, subjects of Great Britain whose sympathies might lie with their master, are being deported. In Ecuador, the government attempted to raise funds to purchase airplanes by popular subscription, including a forced contribution of one day's pay by government employees. This last move was exposed by the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Communist Party of Ecuador and so bitterly opposed by the masses that the government was unable to carry it out.

In the plan for an imperialist attack on the Soviet Union, these countries would play an important role. A definite indication that these countries are being lined up for intervention in the workers' fatherland, is the anti-Soviet propaganda encouraged and carried on in the countries dominated by American imperialism. It is also evident in the fact that by none of these countries has the Soviet Union been recognized.

The Pan-American Conference can bring nothing but increased misery to the oppressed masses of Latin America. While the bourgeois-landlord governments will arrive with their own little axes to grind, the masses will pay through intensified subjugation and exploitation. To them it makes no difference whether they are dominated by British or American imperialism. Both bring the same results. The antagonism between the two imperialisms will be heightened by the Pan-American Conference. American imperialism's attempt to strengthen itself through the Conference will be met with the maneuvers of Great Britain, through her puppets, to disrupt it. It will hasten the outbreak of the impending imperialist war in which the colonial and semi-colonial masses, together with the masses in the home of imperialism, will serve as the pawns and the victims.

The Communist Party of the United States must rouse itself to anti-imperialist action. We must rally the American working class to the support of the liberation struggles of the Latin American masses, particularly the struggle now going on in Cuba. We must expose the Pan-American Conference as a maneuver of American imperialism bringing closer the danger of imperialist war.

Our Party must awaken to one of its most vital tasks. The struggles in the colonies and semi-colonies are in reality separated from ours only because we have failed to forge a strong link. In their struggles against American imperialism, the colonial masses can become a major ally in the struggle against the N.R.A., in the struggle against the renewed onslaught of the capitalist class in general, and against imperialist war.

It is necessary to have throughout the country demonstrations of solidarity of a broad mass character. But demonstrations alone would be inadequate.

We must establish a fighting front between the revolutionary trade union movement here and in the countries dominated by Wall Street.

We must see in our support of the liberation struggles in the colonies a powerful anti-war force. We must begin to realize in

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a concrete manner that the basis of imperialist war is colonial in character. We must organically connect the struggles against the N.R.A. with the struggle against imperialist oppression and war by rallying the American working class for an intensive struggle against the coming imperialist Pan-American Conference.

Our slogans must be:

Support the liberation struggles of the colonial masses!

Rally to the defense of the rising revolution in Cuba!

Demand the immediate withdrawal of American Warships from Cuba!

Down with all imperialism!

". . . The toiling masses of the colonies struggling against imperialist slavery represent a most powerful auxiliary force of the Socialist world revolution. The colonial countries at the present time constitute for world imperialism the most dangerous sector of their front. The revolutionary emancipatory movements of the colonies and semi-colonies more and more rally around the banner of the Soviet Union, convincing themselves by bitter experience that there is no salvation for them except through alliance with the revolutionary proletariat, and through the victory of the world proletarian revolution over world imperialism. The proletariat of the U.S.S.R. and the workers' movement in the capitalist countries, headed by the Communist International, in their turn are supporting and will more and more effectively support in deeds the emancipatory struggle of all the colonial and other dependent peoples; they are the only sure bulwark of the colonial peoples in their struggle for final liberation from the yoke of imperialism."—*The Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies*: Thesis adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, Moscow, July-August, 1928.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Manifesto and Program of the American League Against War and Fascism

(*Appeal adopted by U. S. Congress Against War, New York City, Sept. 29 to Oct. 1, 1933.*)

To the Working Men and
Women of America:
To all Victims of War:

THE black cloud of imperialist war hangs over the world. The peoples must arouse themselves and take immediate action against the wars now going on in the Far East and Latin America, against intervention in Cuba, against the increasing preparations for war, and against the growing danger of a new world war.

After ten years of futility, the World Disarmament Conference is meeting to perform once more the grim comedy of promises, to screen the actions of the imperialist governments which are preparing, more intensively than ever before in history, for a new war. The Four Power Pact is already exposed as nothing but a new maneuver for position in the coming war between the imperialist rivals, and an attempt to establish a united imperialist front against the Soviet Union. The rise of fascism in Europe and especially in Germany, and the sharpened aggressive policy of Japanese militarism, have brought all the imperialist antagonisms to the breaking point and greatly increased the danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The greatest naval race in history is now on among the United States, England and Japan. The British-American antagonism is being fought out in Latin America already by open war—the so-called local wars being in reality struggles between these imperialist powers. The presence of thirty American warships in Cuban waters is itself an act of war against the Cuban revolution. The collapse of the World Economic Conference revealed only too clearly that the great powers are unable and unwilling to solve the basic international problems by peaceful means and that they will resort to a new imperialist war

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in an attempt to divert the attention of the masses from their misery and as the only capitalist way out of the crisis.

N.R.A. AND WAR

Under the guise of public works, the N.R.A. has diverted immense funds from the trumpeted plan of caring for the starving millions to the building of a vastly larger navy and to mechanization of the army. The widespread unemployment has been utilized to concentrate young men in so-called reforestation camps, which the War Department is using for trial military mobilizations. The military training of youth in the schools and colleges is being further developed. More and more, national holidays and specially prepared demonstrations are being used to glorify the armed forces and to stimulate the war spirit among the masses. Hundreds of factories are working overtime to produce munitions and basic war materials for shipment to the warring countries in South America and the Far East. A centralized war control of industry, along the lines of the War Industries Board of 1917, is being established. As in 1917, it is drawing the upper leadership of many trade unions into active collaboration in the war machine.

SMOKE SCREENS FOR WAR

This Congress Against War warns the masses against reliance upon the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pacts as effective instruments of peace. The Congress declares that this illusion becomes particularly dangerous at the present moment, especially when it is put forth as in the recent Congress of the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions as a method of combatting the war danger.

FOR MASS RESISTANCE

We can effectively combat war only by arousing and organizing the masses within each country for active struggle against the war policies of their own imperialist governments, whether these governments are working individually or through the League of Nations.

The Congress declares that the basic force in the imperialist countries for struggle against the war danger is the working class, organizing around it in close alliance all of the exploited sections of the population, working farmers, intellectuals, the oppressed Negro people and all toiling masses and all organizations and groups which are generally opposed to war on any basis. The anti-war movement allies itself with the masses in the colonial and semi-colonial countries against imperialist domination, and gives full support to their immediate and unconditional independence.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FASCISM BREEDS WAR

The rapid rise of fascism is closely related to the increasing war danger. Fascism means forced labor, militarization, lower standards of living, and the accentuation of national hatreds and chauvinist incitements as instruments for the "moral" preparation for war. It sets the people of one country against the people of another, and exploits the internal racial and national groups within each country in order to prevent them from uniting in joint action to solve their common problems.

THE WAR SYSTEM

The war danger arises inevitably out of the very nature of monopolistic capitalism—the ownership of the means of production by a small capitalist class and the complete domination of government by this class. The imminent war danger is only another expression of the fundamental crisis of the capitalist system, which continues its existence only at the cost of intensification and oppression of the masses at home and in the colonies, and of struggle among the imperialist powers for a redivision of markets and sources of raw materials.

Only in the Soviet Union has this basic cause of war been removed. There are no classes or groups which can benefit from war or war preparations. Therefore the Soviet Union pursues a positive and vigorous peace policy and alone among the governments proposes total disarmament. Serious struggle against war involves rallying all forces around this peace policy and opposing all attempts to weaken or destroy the Soviet Union.

THE U. S. PREPARES FOR WAR

The government of the United States in spite of peaceful professions is more aggressively than ever following policies whose only logical result is war. The whole program of the Roosevelt administration is permeated by preparedness for war, expressed in the extraordinary military and naval budget, mobilization of industry and manpower, naval concentration in the Pacific Ocean, intervention in Cuba, the continued maintenance of armed forces in China, the loans to Chiang Kai-shek, the initiation of currency and tariff wars—all of which give the lie to the peaceful declarations of the United States government.

PROGRAM

The Congress pledges itself to do all in its power to effect a nation-wide agitation and organization against war preparations and

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

war. To this end we join together in carrying out the following immediate objectives:

1. To work towards the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and all other materials essential to the conduct of war, through mass demonstrations, picketing and strikes.

2. To expose everywhere the extensive praparations for war being carried on under the guise of aiding National Recovery.

3. To demand the transfer of all war funds to relief of the unemployed and the replacement of all such devices as the Civilian Conservation Camps, by a federal system of social insurance paid for by the government and employers.

4. To oppose the policies of American imperialism in the Far East, in Latin America, especially now in Cuba, and throughout the world; to support the struggles of all colonial peoples against the imperialist policies of exploitation and armed suppression.

5. To support the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for total and universal disarmament which today with the support of masses in all countries constitute the clearest and most effective opposition to war throughout the world; to oppose all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union, whether these take the form of misrepresentation and false propaganda, diplomatic maneuvering or intervention by imperialist governments.

6. To oppose all developments leading to fascism in this country and abroad, and especially in Germany; to oppose the increasingly widespread use of the armed forces against the workers, farmers and the special terrorizing and suppression of Negroes in their attempts to maintain a decent standard of living; to oppose the growing encroachments upon the civil liberties of these groups as a growing fascization of our so-called "democratic" government.

7. To win the armed forces to the support of this program.

8. To enlist for our program the women in industry and in the home; and to enlist the youth, especially those who, by the crisis, have been deprived of training in the industries and are therefore more susceptible to fascist and war propaganda.

9. To give effective international support to all workers and anti-war fighters against their own imperialist governments.

10. To form committees of action against war and fascism in every important center and industry, particularly in the basic war industries; to secure the support for this program of all organizations seeking to prevent war, paying special attention to labor, veteran, unemployed and farmer organizations.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

By virtue of the mandate granted by the thousands of delegates from all sections of this country and groups of the population which bear the burden of imperialist war who, though they differ in political opinions, trade union affiliations, religious beliefs and the methods of carrying on the struggle against war, are bound together by their desire for peace, and on the strength of its unshakable conviction that the struggle against imperialist war is useful only to the extent to which it effectively interferes with and check-mates imperialist war plans, this Congress calls upon the working class, the ruined and exploited farmers, the oppressed Negro people, the sections of the middle class bankrupted by the crisis, the groups of intellectuals of all occupations, men, women and youth, together, to organize their invincible force in disciplined battalions for the decisive struggle to defeat imperialist war.

"The first duty of Communists in the fight against imperialist war is to tear down the screen by which the bourgeoisie conceal their preparations for war and the real state of affairs from the masses of the workers. This duty implies above all a determined political and ideological fight *against pacifism*. In this fight the Communists must take careful note of the various shades of pacifism. . . .

"In the struggle against pacifism, however, the Communists must draw a distinction between the anti-war sentiments of large masses of the toilers, who are ready to fight against war, but do not as yet understand that the revolutionary way is the only proper way of combating war, and therefore, become a prey to pacifist swindlers, and the swindlers themselves, the pacifists of various shades. The masses must be patiently enlightened as to their error and urged to join the revolutionary united front in the struggle against war. But the pacifist swindlers must be relentlessly exposed and combated."—*The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists*: Resolution of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, Moscow, July-August, 1928.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Program for Speeding Up Training of New Leadership in the Districts and Sections

1. We consider it necessary to organize systematically week-end courses in the districts (above all in concentration districts and sections) for activists of the lower Party organizations, consisting of workers, *chiefly employed.*

2. The aim of the course must be to acquaint the comrades with the basic and urgent questions which face the workers, the poor farmers and the Party; to teach them by what methods the bourgeois and social-fascist policy and maneuvers should be exposed and fought; how to organize the united front, mobilizing the masses to struggle against finance capital on the basis of the daily needs and struggles of the masses; to give them the Party line on these questions; to acquaint them with the Party program and the slogans of the Party; to work out in detail with them the Party decisions on these questions.

3. To insure good work and quality of study, to prepare good worker-agitators, it is necessary to carry out the following measures:

a) The schools must have from twenty to thirty persons, and must include the proletarian party and trade union activists from the major big factories of the districts and sections.

b) When selecting students, special attention should be paid to securing native Americans.

c) The course should last a maximum of five or six week-ends.

d) Such courses must be organized (with new students) at least two or three times a year.

e) The district or local committees must appoint special comrades as leaders of these courses and be made responsible for the study and the organization of the courses. The instructor of the course should be well acquainted with the situation in the given district or section and especially should he familiarize himself with the conditions in the major enterprises of the given district and section. The secretaries of the district or local committees and the leader of the trade union work must participate in teaching at these schools.

4. *The method of study* must be as follows:

a) To prepare beforehand four or five subjects carefully worked out in the form of complete tasks, a list of questions

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and a minimum list of necessary literature. Every student will receive these in advance (at least five days before the beginning of the course) so that he can become acquainted with them.

b) The system of study will be the *lecture-discussion method* (*conversations*). The teacher will give a brief introduction (20-30 minutes) which must give the general aim of the whole subject in a popular form, *bringing out prominently the chief points.* Then there will be a discussion with the students and the concluding remarks of the teacher (20-30 minutes).

c) Every lesson must last not more than 4 hours (with an intermission of 10 minutes) and must be organized in such a way as to finish with the given subject completely in one lesson.

d) After each lecture-discussion, the leader of the course, together with the representative of the Party committee, must give every student a practical assignment for the week on the basis of his regular Party tasks in his organization or factory (agitation in the factories, open-air meetings, the organization of a meeting in a hall, speeches at meetings, the issuing of a factory paper, carrying on a workers' circle, etc.) according to the conditions of work and the abilities of the given comrade, and linked up with the given subject.

e) Before the beginning of the next subject, the leader of the course must talk with the students about the way in which they have carried out the practical tasks set for them.

f) The last week-end of the school must be the final conference which establishes how far the students have mastered the subjects, and sums up the whole course.

g) In order to better check up on the political growth of the students during the course, it is desirable for the District committee or the section or the unit to send to the final conference (in written form) an estimate of the work of the student for the period he has been attending the course.

PROGRAM FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE

For the immediate future we recommend the following subjects:

1. Roosevelt's Industrial Recovery Bill as a program of mass hunger and poverty.
2. The N.I.R.A. as a program for preparations for a new imperialist war.
3. The "labor" program of Roosevelt as a way of rapid transition of finance capital in the U.S.A. towards fascist methods of attack on the working class.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

4. The social-fascists as open and concealed supporters and executors of the Roosevelt program.

5. The program of action of the C.P.U.S.A. as the building of a broad united front of struggle against the Roosevelt program and for the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

6. Final conference.

NOTE: The program should be supplemented by the necessary material on important events which have taken place up to the time of study of the given subject. In the entire program special attention should be paid to concretizing the situation in the given district or section.

FIRST SUBJECT: ROOSEVELT'S INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY BILL AS A PROGRAM OF MASS HUNGER AND POVERTY

1. *The Roosevelt policy in solving the industrial and financial crisis.*

a) The extent and depth of the economic crisis in the U.S.A., on the basis of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. The end of capitalist stabilization. The attempt of the American bourgeoisie to find a way out of the crisis at the expense of the toiling masses of the city and village through war.

b) The demagogic slogan of "control of industry" and "industrial recovery" means a strengthening of trusts and still further trustification, the increased power of monopoly capital, millions in subsidies to big capitalists, the closing of small and medium enterprises not belonging to monopolist associations, and an increase of industrial chaos.

c) It means a further lowering of the standard of living of the toiling masses through inflation (the rise of prices, the cutting of wages, the expropriation of the savings of small bank depositors, the increase of prices at home and dumping on the foreign markets).

d) It means the cut and the actual abolition of the meager relief for the unemployed and the introduction of forced labor and organized government strike-breaking (military camps and terror against the unemployed); the use of the unemployed to cut the wages of the employed.

e) The reduction of the working week signifies a further wage-cut. "Minimum wages" means that the wages of the workers will be brought down to a poverty-stricken starvation level.

f) It means more rationalization, a further intensification

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of labor, mass dismissals of workers and throwing them into the streets, the increase of the slave regime in the factories.

g) Speculative, inflationary and war-preparatory character of the temporary revival of industry and the growth of production.

h) Roosevelt's program means a further intensification of the crisis and the transfer of all the burdens of the crisis to the shoulders of the workers.

(Particularly concretize how Roosevelt's measures affect the situation in the given district, section and factory.)

i) The growth of the resistance of the proletariat against the N.R.A. (mass strikes, embracing the entire country; demonstrations of unemployed, etc.), and the role of the Party and T.U.U.L. in this struggle.

j) Compare in a Marxist way the situation of industry and the conditions of the working class in the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. (two systems) drawng sharp distinctions between the two systems (who has the power, proletarian democracy, real socialist planning, etc.).

2. *How Roosevelt solves the agrarian crisis.*

a) As a means of raising prices he proposes a reduction of the sown area (by premiums) to cut the surplus and thereby raise prices. This increase of prices on agricultural products is only in the interests of banking capital and the rich farmers. (The poor farmers will not obtain much of this increase, losing, together with the workers, when buying industrial and other commodities.)

b) The attitude of the toiling farmer masses to N.R.A., mass actions and struggle of the farmers against the government.

c) The further exploitation and plunder of the poor and middle farmers, an increase of the tax and debt burdens, increasing forced sales and driving the farmers off their land. Increased exploitation of share-croppers, especially Negroes; an increase in the army of unemployed farm hands. The liquidation of the insignificant benefits and cultural assistance given by the government until recently in agricultural districts.

d) Compare with the situation of agriculture in the U.S.S.R.

e) The task of winning the toiling farmers as an ally of the proletariat under the hegemony of the proletariat. The mistakes committed by the Party. The danger of weakening the proletarian base, succumbing to petty-bourgeois influences and illusions. The danger of farmer-laborism.

"The winning over of broad masses of farmers as allies of the working class is an important prerequisite for a successful struggle

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against the offensive of capitalism, against fascism and for the defense of the Soviet Union, and finally for the victory of the proletariat."—From the *Open Letter*, p. 15.

3. *Roosevelt's bill means a worsening of the situation of the working intellectuals, the war veterans, and the urban petty-bourgeoisie.*

a) Wage cuts for the lower government employees and mass dismissals of them. The especially difficult situation of teachers (closing of schools, non-payment of wages, etc.).

b) The desperate situation and no chance for work for hundreds of thousands of young people who have just finished universities and schools.

c) The reduction of federal assistance for war veterans by five hundred million dollars.

d) The hopeless situation of the majority of the urban petty bourgeoisie.

"It is possible also to win over to the side of the workers, or at least to neutralize, broad sections of the lower petty bourgeoisie and intellectual workers in the cities who have been brought into action as a result of the tremendous pressure of the crisis (employees, lower officials, teachers, intellectuals, students, petty-bourgeois, war invalids), if only the Party will come out resolutely in defense of their interests (teachers' strikes, students' demonstrations, resistance to reduction of salaries of employees, to robbery through inflation and bank crashes, etc.)"—From the *Open Letter*, p. 15.

e) Compare with the situation of the working intellectuals in the U.S.S.R.

4. *Our answer to the N.R.A.*

The relation of the international bourgeoisie, fascism and social-fascism, to the Roosevelt N.R.A. serving as an example for international capital in increasing its offensive against the toiling masses for the capitalist way out of the crisis. The reply of the Communist International—the call for the united front of workers of the whole world.

a) When exposing the Roosevelt program and its "democratic" phraseology, point out concrete facts from the given district or section, the reactionary essence of his program which is hostile to the interests of the toiling masses in town and country. Especially bring out the worsening of the situation of the unemployed. Explain to the toiling masses that Roosevelt and his entire apparatus are in the service of Wall Street.

b) Mobilizing the masses for an active struggle against the N.R.A. by the wide application of the tactics of the united front

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from below, by broad explanatory daily work, in the first place in the enterprises. The role of the Party press. The task of fearless promotion of new Party cadres from amongst the workers and non-Party workers' actives, drawing worker-leaders into the Party and strengthening the Party in the course of the struggle.

LITERATURE: *Open Letter* of the Extraordinary Party Conference.

Program of the Communist International, Chapter 1, Section 3; Chapter 2, Section 4, Materials from our press.

Report by Browder to Extraordinary Party Conference, "Why an Open Letter to our Party Membership", *The Communist*, August, 1933.

"The National Industrial Recovery Act—Spearhead of the Roosevelt Program" by Harry Gannes, *The Communist*, August, 1933.

Articles by Gannes in *Daily Worker*, June 24th-July 5th.

SECOND SUBJECT: THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM AS A PROGRAM FOR THE PREPARATION OF A NEW IMPERIALIST WAR

1. *The present intensification of all the contradictions inside the imperialist system owing to the world economic crisis. The place of the imperialism of the U.S.A. in the imperialist system and the preparation for a new imperialist world war and intervention in the U.S.S.R.*

The Leninist teachings that capitalism gives birth to imperialist war, that the conversion of imperialist war into civil war and the overthrow of capitalism is the only guarantee against new imperialist wars (the law of the irregularity of the economic and political development of capitalism in the period of imperialism, the inevitability of imperialist wars in the system of world imperialism, and the possibility of the victory of Socialism in separate countries).

The war of Japan in China as the beginning of a new imperialist war for the partitioning of the world and as one of the manifestations of the end of capitalist stabilization. "The intense struggle of the imperialists for markets and colonies, tariff warfare, and the race for armaments have already led to a new imperialist world war becoming a direct danger" (Twelfth Plenum E.C.C.I.). The increased tendencies in the camp of imperialism to solve the ever-sharpening imperialist antagonisms at the expense of the U.S.S.R. The peace policy of the U.S.S.R. as an indication that the proletarian revolution is the only method of solving the contradictions of capitalism, by abolishing capitalism and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. The directives in the Open Letter of the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Extraordinary Party Conference on the task of the organization of the united struggle of the American workers and all the toilers for their immediate vital needs, in close connection with the struggle against a new imperialist war, against intervention in the U.S.S.R., against financial and military assistance to Japanese imperialism.

2. *The Roosevelt program as a program of the preparation of American imperialism for war;* the significance of Roosevelt's measures inside the country as material preparations for war (the use of subsidies—$3,300,000,000—for the restoration of industry for war purposes, the growth of the war industry, the new feverish construction of the navy and air fleet, increased coastal defences). Compulsory military camps; the militarization of the youth. The preparation of "public opinion" for a new imperialist war. The "theory" that the new war will solve the problem of unemployment. The spreading of the opinion that American imperialism "defends" the integrity of China. The hypocritical declaration of Roosevelt in favor of peace, trying to influence the masses with the idea that the U.S.A. is being provoked by Japan. The reactionary military theory of "economic nationalism". Propaganda of the "sanctity" and "inviolability" of debts.

3. The foreign economic policy of Roosevelt is a program for the economic preparation of the U.S.A. for imperialist war. The policy of dumping at the expense of the toiling masses of the U.S.A. The struggle of the U.S.A. against the Ottawa decisions. The struggle of the dollar against the pound, and the role of the U.S.A. at the London Economic Conference. The U.S.A. in the role of the world Shylock (the debt problem).

The foreign economic policy of the U.S.A. is to give full support and active aid to the fascist terror and the attack of capital on the toilers throughout the world (Morgan finances Hitler; Wall Street finances all the fascist rulers).

4. The sharpening of imperialist contradictions, and the role of American imperialism. The deepening of Anglo-American antagonisms. The Far Eastern problem—the prospects of a Japanese-American war. How American imperialism dominates in its own colonies. The role of American imperialism in Central and South America (bring out the role of the U.S.A. in the events in Cuba).

5. The U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. The hostile policy of American imperialism towards the U.S.S.R. (the persistent non-recognition policy and the provocation of intervention in the Far East), and the struggle for recognition of the U.S.S.R. The factors that influence the policy of American imperialism towards the U.S.S.R., and the intensification of the struggle between the U.S.A., England, Japan.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

6. Our everyday struggle against war. The exposure of the war preparations of American imperialism (especially in the given districts). The exposure of pacifist phraseology as an open auxiliary of war which assists in disarming the vigilance of the masses and the weakening of the struggle against the war danger. The exposure of the leaders of the social-fascists and the A. F. of L. Increased work in the army and navy (everyday agitation and propaganda). The mobilization of the masses for the struggle against war and the defense of the U.S.S.R. by utilizing the tactics of the united front.

Pay special attention to agitation among women and youth.

To explain the mistakes made by the Party in 1932 in anti-war work (letter of E.C.C.I. on anti-war work of Communist Party of the U.S.A.), to discuss the August First campaign of the Party in 1933, its shortcomings and mistakes, especially in the given region.

LITERATURE: *Program of Communist International*, Chapter 1, Section 3; Chapter 2, Section 4.

Thesis of Twelfth Plenum E.C.C.I., on Report of Kuusinen, Section 2, Capitalist Stabilization Has Ended.

Report of Okano to the Twelfth Plenum, *War in the Far East.*

Open Letter of the Extraordinary Party Conference.

Materials from our press.

THIRD SUBJECT: THE "LABOR" PROGRAM OF ROOSEVELT AS A PATH TOWARDS THE RAPID TRANSITION OF THE FINANCE CAPITAL OF THE U.S.A. TOWARDS FASCIST METHODS OF ATTACK ON THE WORKING CLASS

The present revolutionary upsurge of the masses and its strength in the U.S.A. The change of form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the direction of a further increase of political reaction and fascization of the state, as a method of struggle of the bourgeoisie in view of the intensification of foreign antagonisms and internal class relations.

> "In the majority of the capitalist countries the big bourgeoisie are organizing fascist detachments for civil war, making political banditism, the white terror, the torture of political prisoners, provocation, forgeries, the shooting of strikers and demonstrators, the destruction and dissolution of workers' organizations into a system. In this connection the bourgeoisie do not abandon the use of parliament and the services of the social-democratic parties for tricking the masses."—*Twelfth Plenum.*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fascism as the naked terrorist dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie. The conditions for establishing the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in Germany. (The splitting of the working class, the treachery of the social-democrats, the nationalist and legalist illusions of the masses.) The directives of the *Open Letter* of the Extraordinary Party Conference.

> "On the one hand the bourgeoisie is attempting with the help of the reformists to establish all kinds of rallying centers for intercepting the disillusioned masses, and to set up barriers against Communism. On the other hand, and at the same time the bourgeoisie is intensifying direct terrorism and provocation against the masses and coming more and more to adopt fascist methods of violence and demagogy and to establish fascist organizations." From the *Open Letter*, p. 9.

1. The capitalist slogan of "class collaboration" in reply to the evergrowing revolutionary movement.

a) Efforts to enslave the toiling masses to finance capital. "Class collaboration" in reality means the unlimited domination of finance capital. This is an attempt to fascisize the workers' movement with the help of the labor aristocracy (leaders of the social-fascists and the A. F. of L.), and to lay the basis for introducing fascist ideology among the employed and unemployed (company unions, "federative" trade unions, reforestation and conservation camps, etc.).

b) "Class collaboration" is in reality forced labor, military camps and increasing state terror against the workers.

2. The "moratorium" on strikes is an attempt to deprive the workers of their right to use their weapon of strike to defend their interests and is also an application of semi-fascist methods in the struggle against the revolutionary movement.

a) Increase of demagogy and terror to crush the strike movement. Increasing attack against the revolutionary trade unions and the red trade union oppositions in the reactionary trade unions. Increased espionage and terror in the factories.

b) The new act means increased fascization of the policy of the A. F. of L. and the social-fascists.

3. The struggle against the N.R.A. Working class, by every day struggle and building mighty united front, can successfully fight down the N.R.A. offensive.

a) The ideological mobilization of the workers, showing by concrete examples the danger which threatens them from the Roosevelt N.R.A., and the possibility of a successful fight against

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it. Fighting against illusions created by Roosevelt and the social-fascists that N.R.A. means an improvement of the conditions of the toiling masses.

b) The organization of the masses through the correct application of the united front tactics from below, by the development of mass economic and political struggles of the proletariat, to resist the N.R.A. (strikes, demonstrations, mass meetings, etc.) The mass struggle against spies and provocateurs in the factories, for the right to strike, against arbitration, in defense of the class organizations of the proletariat.

c) Our task is to mobilize all the forces of the Party in order to head and lead the ever-growing resistance of the workers to the Roosevelt program, raising this struggle to the highest level and broadening it to millions of workers. This will be possible to achieve through the strengthening of the work of the Party in enterprises and amongst the unemployed, extending and strengthening the work of the red opposition in the A. F. of L. and progressive trade unions (Musteite). The task is to build and broaden the existing red trade unions and transform them into real fighting organs of the proletariat, winning the confidence of the workers through the successful struggle against the Roosevelt offensive.

d) Contrast the Roosevelt program of the impoverishment of the masses to the situation of the workers and the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

e) Increase the struggle against the national persecution of the Negroes, against white chauvinism, boldly drawing the best elements of the Negro workers into the Party.

> "The other important ally of the American proletariat is to be found in the masses of Negroes in the struggle against national oppression. . . . The Communist Party must mobilize the masses for the struggle for equal rights of the Negroes and for the right of self-determination for the Negroes in the Black Belt. It must ruthlessly combat any form of white chauvinism and Jim Crow practices. It must not only in words but in deeds overcome all obstacles to the drawing in of the best elements of the Negro proletariat, who, in recent years, have shown themselves to be self-sacrificing fighters in the struggle against capital." From the *Open Letter*, pp. 14-15.

LITERATURE: *Program of the Communist International*, Chapter 2, Sections 3 and 4.

Thesis and Resolutions of Eleventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on Fascism.

Thesis of Twelfth Plenum of E.C.C.I. on Report of Kuusinen, Section 3, *Capitalist Stabilization Has Ended.*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Open Letter of the Extraordinary Party Conference.
Materials from our press.

FOURTH SUBJECT: THE SOCIAL-FASCISTS AS OPEN AND CONCEALED DEFENDERS AND PROPAGATORS OF THE ROOSEVELT ACT

1. *Social-Democracy as the main social bulwark of the bourgeosie, its power and influence in the U.S.A.* The basic role of social-democracy at the present time in undermining the necessary fighting unity of the proletariat in its struggle against fascism and imperialism.

> "The social-fascists, by keeping the workers back from revolutionary activity against the capitalist offensive and growing fascism, play the role of a screen behind which the fascists are able to organize their forces and build the path for the fascist dictatorship." (*Twelfth Plenum E.C.C.I.*)

The direct support of the leaders of the Second International for the policy of the financial oligarchy. New social-democratic theories to give a foundation for this policy and fascism. The significance of the "left" maneuvers of social-democracy in the general system of the social-fascists' deception of the masses and the betrayal of the interests of the proletariat. The directives of the *Open Letter* of the Extraordinary Party Conference.

The role of the leaders of the A. F. of L. as part of the state apparatus of the U.S.A., as opponents of the united front of the workers and for the united front with the bourgeoisie. The significance of their activity in carrying out the Roosevelt program. *The mobilization of the upper ranks of the A. F. of L. apparatus for the service of finance capital.* (Show by concrete examples from the given district their active aid in carrying out the anti-working class law of Roosevelt, their role as open and concealed strike-breakers and police agents, their role in the preparations for a new imperialist war and the struggle for intervention against the U.S.S.R.) The *role of the A. F. of L. in the splitting of the working class* (direct support for the formation of company unions, the organization of so-called federative unions, the methods of struggle against the increasing discontent in their own rank and file.)

2. *The attitude of the leaders of the Second International and the social-fascists in the U.S.A. to the Roosevelt program as an example for the international labor movement.* The significance of their activity—*the creation of illusions among the working class* with regard to the Roosevelt program (praising it as a "new era" in capitalism, as "neo-Socialism", as "government above classes",

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

praising Roosevelt as a friend of the toilers, as an "opponent" of finance capital). *The ideological inspiration of a new imperialist war* (under the cloak of pacifism, counter-revolutionary slander against the U.S.S.R.). *Attempts jointly with the state apparatus and the leaders of the A. F. of L. to break up the revolutionary movement which stands at the head of all the resistance* of the working class. *By means of terror, to put a stop to the opposition in their own ranks and prevent the formation of a united front, strike-breaking against the united front.*

Hillquit and Thomas as heralds praising the "neo-Socialism" of Roosevelt. Their actual support of all the measures of the government. Together with the state apparatus and the A. F. of L. leaders, they tried to break up the revolutionary movement and to behead all the resistance of the working class of its leadership (fur workers). Expose their left phraseology as the most dangerous, comparing it with their actions. The role of the social-fascist leaders in the given districts (concrete facts), showing their treacherous role. The expulsion measures used by the social-fascist leaders against the opposition in their own ranks. The role of the social-fascist leaders as strike-breakers of the united front.

3. The role of the "left" social-fascists (Muste) and the progressives.

a) To explain the actual role of Muste and his attitude to N.R.A. Forced by the pressure of the radicalization and revolutionization of the masses to take an official stand against N.R.A., in practice he does not mobilize but hinders the organization of the fighting resistance of the masses (for example, Cleveland Conference, Ohio Unemployed Conference, A. F. of L. Conference).

b) Expose the left phraseology of the Musteites and give facts to show that Muste is in reality against the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat (his policy on the united front in reality is an attempt to hinder the development of the mass united front).

c) The role of Muste, who with the aid of left demagogy is trying to hinder the process of radicalization of the masses and their transition to the side of Communism, to the side of the real class struggle.

d) The role of Muste as a cloak for the counter-revolutionary leaders of the Socialist Party and the A. F. of L.

e) Under the pressure of the growth of the revolutionary movement, the "progressives" conceal their real face by left demagogy. In reality they are against the revolutionary strike struggles (give concrete facts, for instance, Paterson), and fight

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against the revolutionary trade unions. The betrayal of strikes led by them (point out examples on a national scale, for instance, Allentown, and especially examples from the given districts), which is practical support and help for Roosevelt.

f) Expose the renegade Lovestoneites and Trotskyites as openly counter-revolutionary enemies of the U.S.S.R. and the proletariat of the U.S.A., who, at the present moment, carry out the social orders of capitalism—to break and disorganize the workers' movement and disrupt its resistance to the capitalist offensive. The role of the renegades at the present moment is to give open support and patronage to all the "progressive" bourgeois reformists who are trying, by means of "left" phraseology, to disorientate the proletariat and slur over for them the path towards the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

LITERATURE: *Program of the Communist International*, Chapter 2, Section 2.

Thesis of Twelfth Plenum on Report of Kuusinen, Section 3, *Capitalist Stabilization Has Ended.*

Open Letter of the Extraordinary Party Conference.

Material from our press.

FIFTH SUBJECT: THE PROGRAM OF ACTION OF THE C.P.U.S.A. AS BUILDING THE BROAD UNITED FRONT OF STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CAPITALISTS AND FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS.

"The working class will be in a position to fulfill its role as the most decisive class in the struggle against finance capital, as the leader of all toiling masses, only if it is headed by a Communist Party which is closely bound up with the decisive strata of the workers. But a Communist Party with a very weak and inadequately functioning organization in the big factories and among the decisive sections of the American industrial workers, a Communist Party whose entire policy, whose entire agitation and propaganda, whose entire daily work, is not concentrated on winning over and mobilizing these workers and winning of the factories; a Communist Party which, through its revolutionary trade union work, does not build highways to the broadest masses of workers, cannot lay claim to a policy capable of making it the leader of the working class within the shortest possible time." From the *Open Letter*, p. 12.

1. Contrast the program of Roosevelt and social-fascism to our fighting program.

a) Popularize our slogans which really mobilize the toiling masses, express their interests, and can be understood by them, which deal with their vital needs and promote the final liberation of the working class (concretize the slogans of the Party

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which are directed against the Roosevelt Act). Our slogans on questions of higher wages, the working day, the organization of the workers in the factories (factory committees) and in the trade unions, against company unions and Federal Unions, for the right to strike, etc. For federal social insurance, against high prices, against militarized labor camps, against a new imperialist war, in defense of the U.S.S.R., etc.

b) Show the increase in the struggle against the leaders of the social-fascists and the A. F. of L., explaining to the masses the counter-revolutionary essence of social-fascism as the main social support of the bourgeoisie in carrying out the Roosevelt program and in their struggle against the growing proletarian revolution.

c) Popularization of our slogans—the chief attention must be paid to the mobilization of the masses for the struggle for the concrete everyday needs of the workers and the farming masses. We must be able to explain to the masses the difference between our slogans and demands and the counter-revolutionary demagogic slogans of the social-fascists, especially of their "left" wing.

d) In our exposure of the program of Roosevelt and the policy of the social-fascists, we must contrast our path of struggle for a revolutionary way out of the crisis, as the only correct path, as proved by the experience of the U.S.S.R.

e) In our agitation and propaganda, chief attention should be paid to dispelling the illusions that the Roosevelt program has created amongst the masses with the aid of the social-fascists. The only way of dispelling these illusions is the correct daily agitation, explanation and mobilization of the broad masses for the struggle against the Roosevelt program, against each new attack of capital, thus drawing in new strata of workers into this struggle.

2. To win the majority of the proletariat for the united front of struggle.

a) The fundamental task of the Party is to mobilize the masses for the struggle by widely adopting the tactics of the united front, explaining to the masses that only the united front of struggle from below will be able to repulse the new wide attack of finance capital.

b) Our task is to form committees of the united front of struggle in all factories, among the unemployed, in the workers' houses, among the farmers, among the working intellectuals, to lead them capably and to convert them into a real weapon of the revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

c) To increase the initiative of the Communists, Young Communist League members and non-Party worker-activists in the formation of the united front.

d) The workers of the reformist trade unions and the proletarian members of the social-fascist organizations must be drawn into the struggle for the united front, increasing the work in the reformist trade unions by the intensified activity of the red trade union oppositions, and striving to isolate the reformist leaders. To strengthen the T.U.U.L. unions.

e) All the work of the Party in mobilizing the masses for the struggle against N.R.A. must be based on the need for a quick liquidation of the lagging behind of the Party and its isolation from the basic, decisive strata of the proletariat. All the work of the Party must be closely connected with the tasks placed before the Party in the Open Letter.

> "Comrades: The Party has approved the estimation of the international situation given by the Twelfth Plenum of the Comintern, stating that we are approaching a new round of wars and revolutions. It is time that we should draw from this declaration the practical conclusions for our activity. The development of mass struggles depends to a great extent upon the speed with which we succeed in drawing the industrial proletariat into the struggle and in becoming the revolutionary mass Party of the American working class." From the *Open Letter*, Page 23.

LITERATURE: Stalin, *Questions of Leninism*, on the Communist Party.

Manifesto of the E.C.C.I. on the United Front, Daily Worker (March 18, 1933).

Open Letter of the Extraordinary Party Conference.

SIXTH SUBJECT: FINAL CONFERENCE

1. The aim of this conference is to review and establish how far the students have mastered the course theoretically and practically, to correct wrong opinions which have arisen in the course of the study, and to clear up questions which were insufficiently explained.

2. The method of the final conference is to prepare in advance a questionnaire dealing with all the chief points of all five subjects.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On the Draft Program of the United Farmers' League

By J. BARNETT

ALTHOUGH the draft program of the United Farmers League was published for discussion some months ago, nothing has been done in the press to popularize and explain it, not to speak of giving an analysis of the weaknesses in the draft itself. This lack of discussion has existed in spite of the fact that the draft, which is to furnish a basis for arousing and leading the struggles of the toiling farmers, appeared at a time of heightened struggle and intense ferment among these farmers.

The draft indicates an advance in our work. Its demands show a closer connection than formerly with the struggles and problems of the toiling farmers. There is no doubt that we are making progress in concretizing their demands. Also, the language of the draft shows that we are beginning to learn how to speak in farmers' language. These facts are significant.

The draft takes a correct line concerning the principles upon which the League is founded. Any permanent organization of the toiling farmers, such as the United Farmers League, is to be based upon the class struggle around the burning problems of the exploited farmers and stands for an alliance with the workers, under the leadership of the city proletariat. The draft states that it has such a foundation, and, leaving aside for the moment some of the weaknesses in putting forward this position, we may take it as the basis of the draft.

But some comrades have taken the position that the U.F.L. with this class struggle program cannot become a mass organization. In the face of the widespread militancy among the rural masses of oppressed farmers, they have held the conception that these fighting farmers who have been suffering eviction, hunger, sheriffs' clubs, tear gas and even machine guns, are afraid of the U.F.L. and the class struggle program upon which it is based. According to that conception the U.F.L. is too left for the masses of American farmers, too close to the Communist Party, which means that if a farmer is ready to join the U.F.L., he is ready for the Communist Party. The conclusion drawn is that the main mass organization must be

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

built on a less radical program, must abandon some of its class struggle character.

It is true that the U.F.L. has made "left" sectarian mistakes, that it has relied too much upon revolutionary language, that it has not always been careful to make a distinction between itself and the Communist Party. These tendencies, more pronounced in some sections than in others, must be decisively corrected.

However, the main objections have not been raised against these "left" tendencies of the League. Nor was positive criticism of these tendencies made with the object of eliminating them. Let the U.F.L. go on as it was. With its program it could play the role of a "left wing organization in the farmers' movement". The main fire was aimed at the program itself, the purpose being to show that to build mass organizations a less revolutionary program must be adopted.

Such reasoning does little to help correct the "left" mistakes of the League, while at the same time it seriously increases right reformist tendencies. And we should state here that all along these right reformist tendencies have been the main danger in the League. This is where it has made its most grevious errors. Such reasoning also leads to the formation of organizations of a semi-reformist character in which the class lines are befogged and the class issues confused.

It should be obvious that we cannot build permanent farmers' organizations, regardless of what they are called, on anything less than a clear cut class struggle basis. That is, the same basis as that of the U.F.L. And if the U.F.L. or any other farmers' organizations which we help to develop follow the correct policy, the possibility of their becoming mass organizations exists. With millions of poor and middle farmers suffering under the heavy blows of the crisis and class oppression, the possibilities are evident. These militant farmers will fight. The bourgeois farm leaders recognize the danger of the exploited farmers following the example of the class battles of the industrial workers.

Of course, we cannot be satisfied to limit the work to farmers who are ready to join the revolutionary organizations. We must reach much broader masses. This we do through the united front and through work in the reformist organizations. The development of the united front around the Committees of Action of the rural masses is a central task for us. These committees are the basic organizational forms for the mobilizing of the exploited and oppressed sections of the countryside for the struggle around their vital de-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mands. Theirs is objectively a revolutionary struggle because the issues strike against finance capital.

The tremendous upsurge last fall among the exploited farmers, many of whom had never taken part in such activities before, gave an especially favorable opportunity to develop united front struggles and led on to the united front Farmers National Relief Conference. The Party took an active and leading part in these activities. The F.N.R.C. represents a big political event in the revolutionary development of the U.S.A. and one of the main steps in the preparation and establishment of the alliance of the proletariat with the most exploited sections of the toiling farmers, which is the necessary prerequisite for the victorious proletarian revolution in the U.S.A.

Following the conference many local united front struggles broke out all over the country, stopping evictions in many places, carrying out "penny" or "Sears-Roebuck" sales, etc. Under the leadership of the National Committee for Action which was elected to carry on the work of the Farmers National Relief Conference, much has been done to build and consolidate the farmers' movement.

However, due to, among other things, the idea that the basic mass of toiling farmers would run away from the Communists and the class struggle as from a devil with a pitchfork, an improper class approach, and unclarity on united front tactics, a number of incorrect tendencies have developed in the work both before and after the conference.

The National Committee for Action has been shifting its basis from the United Front Committees of Action to more or less opportunistic types of left wing organization. It began to attach or turn the Committees of Action into these permanent organizations, and almost completely abandoned the formation of united front committees. These "left farmers' organizations" were crystallized into state "United Front" conferences, under the auspices of the Farmers National Committee for Action. It is evident that the F.N.C.A. was drastically cutting down its basis of appeal to the broad masses not yet ready to join the left wing, but who were willing to fight for their grievances on a united front basis. To call this left wing a united front is simply fooling ourselves. Of course, there is no objection to the consolidation of revolutionary organizations, but this is to be done without liquidating the united front. The tendency also developed of liquidating the U.F.L. with its clear class struggle program, in favor of other left wing organizations with more vague class programs directly under the F.N.C.A. The

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

two, F.N.C.A. and U.F.L., began to look upon each other as competitors, as they were in fact becoming.

Where we have the strongest development of the U.F.L., according to some comrades, it was sometimes necessary, in order to organize the farmers, to abandon it. This was done by using the Holiday Association in North and South Dakota and Wyoming and the Farmers Protective Association in some other U.F.L. territory. The main significance of this is not so much that the U.F.L. was abandoned as that it meant a shift toward opportunist tendencies. The Madison County Plan of the Holiday Association organizes "all rank and file" farmers. In the minds of many farmers this would not exclude the rich farmers who work on their farms. The Farmers Protective Association of Pennsylvania organized around middle farmers in protest against the local capitalist controlled cooperative, came out with a reformist program although the forces which prepared the F.N.R.C. were a leading factor in its development. The policy was "to work and fight to *regain* a decent American standard of living for *all* people who are dependent on their farms for their livelihood". (My emphasis.) This is not adequate to show class divisions. It raises illusions about a formerly decent standard of living under American capitalism. Its demands include, among others: A fair price for all farm products, a cut in the interest rates from 6 per cent to 2 per cent to be in proportion to the drop in farm products, a moratorium for the duration of the depression for those farmers who cannot pay interest or taxes. While it is true that in developing our influence in this organization we might not have been able at first to achieve a satisfactory program, still such an openly opportunist one was not necessary. At present this program has been slightly altered, but a new program has not been formulated.

The unclear class character of the state conference can be seen by some typical examples.

If we take the local relief conference for North Dakota or for South Dakota, we find statements such as the following:

> "In this emergency we *expect* the legislature of South Dakota to sweep aside all obstacles and take action on these demands. If the legislature fails we must take action ourselves, to protect the homes and lives of *all* farmers and workers" (My emphasis.) (*Producers News*, March 10, 1933.)

We can "expect" that the legislature may give some help to the rich farmers, but the toiling masses will have to fight for what they get. Nor will it be a struggle in the interests of all farmers, but for the great majority who are exploited. These conferences were under our direct leadership.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And the conference for Nebraska told the state how to carry on forcible collection of notes, demanded that the legislature "memoralize" Congress concerning a 50 percent cut in freight rates and "remind" the U.S. Department of Agriculture of the necessity for a cut in terminal market charges of 50 percent. Its demands call for a whole list of state reforms, including inflation, and express its appreciation for the provision made by Congress for bank loans, which naturally will go to the rich farmers (*Producers News*, February 24th, 1933). The defeat of the attempt to split the conference with the "red scare" shows that we were in a much stronger position than this program would indicate. It is obvious that the masses of farmers were not so afraid of sharp class distinctions, or even of the Communists. We ourselves were liquidating a part of our own influence, the wrong way to liquidate the "red scare".

Of course, in such conferences as these we may expect that there will be backward elements and reformist illusions, and the majority may support some demands of a reformist nature. This is not so serious if some one of our Party comrades who are present explains their real character, exposing them and giving the Party's viewpoint, and if we in our daily struggles expose the true nature of such demands. Thus, while we support the united front decisions (providing the concession which we have to make is not one of principle), we have laid a basis for disillusioning the masses, raising their political level and increasing their support of our leadership. But the tendency to hide the face of the Party does not allow us to give such a clear lead. So far as the reports of the conference show, there was no such exposure or explanation of these demands at the Nebraska Conference, although we had comrades there who could have done so. Nor have we seen any criticism of these demands in the *Producers News*, *Farmers National Weekly*, or the Party press.

It is incorrect for the F.N.C.A. as a united front committee to shift its base to left wing or revolutionary organizations. Its issues, if appropriate for the united front, will not be sufficient for these organizations, or, if sufficient for them, will not be broad enough for the united front. The Committees of Action are not to be turned into permanent organizations.

The Committees of Action "cannot be considered as the germ of a future peasant (farmers') organization". They "are not independent village organizations or local sections of a special national peasants' (farmers') organization". (*C.I. Resolution on Peasants' Committees*). These committees are temporary organs of the united front from below. They are elected at mass meetings of

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

farm workers, poor and middle farmers, regardless of belief or sect, to lead the immediate struggle. Their sphere of action is determined by the masses who have elected them and to whom they are responsible and must report. Committees are elected or re-elected with new struggles or at the desire of the open mass meetings. The F.N.C.A. must maintain its united front basis on these Committees of Action.

It is clear that there is no antagonism between the program and activities of the U.F.L. and the local and national Committees of Action, between the U.F.L. and the F.N.C.A. The U.F.L. members and the Party must be most active as the initiators of the election of Committees of Action, and in continuing and developing the united front. It is upon them that we must depend for the development and leadership of these committees. Building united front struggles is one of the main tasks of the U.F.L. and similar farm organizations.

On the other hand, exploited farmers will learn in united struggles the necessity of permanent class struggle organization. These farmers can be drawn into or rallied to the support of the U.F.L. and other revolutionary organizations.

The F.N.C.A. and the U.F.L. must be very active in work among the reformist and old line organizations. Opposition movements around the united front issues and around special grievances of the members of the particular organization, against the control of rich farmers, the betrayal of leaders, etc., can be built up. Our fight is in the interest of the poor and middle farmers in these organizations.

There was and is the tendency to hide the face of the Party (Madison County Plan, and the F.N.R.C.) This is impermissible for us, both in the U.F.L. and other class struggle organizations, and in the F.N.R.C., the united front committee movement. Reports from the field from various sections of the country show that exploited farmers want to hear what the Communists have to say. Of course, there are backward farmers who have fears and hesitations. This is expected, but is a problem to be solved, not avoided. We cannot capitulate before the most backward farmers who are under the influence of the bourgeoisie, but on the contrary we must help them overcome their prejudices, fears, and illusions regarding the revolutionary issues involved. We must make clear through our work that:

> "No one but the city industrial proletariat, led by the Communist Party, can save the laboring masses in the country from

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the pressure of capital and landlordism, from dissolution and from imperialist wars, ever inevitable as long as the capitalist regime endures." (*Thesis of Second C. I. Congress.*)

The Party's independent leadership in the agrarian movement is absolutely necessary. This does not mean that the united front is to be turned into a Communist meeting, or that the U.F.L. is to be made an organization of Communists. Both of them must be much broader. Farmers of all political affiliation may belong. It must be made clear that they are distinct from the Communist Party, are not Communist organizations, although the Party supports and helps them, and tries to convince the masses of the correctness of its policies and leadership through the daily work of the Communists in the organization, through our press and agitation and through concrete support and joint actions of the city proletariat with the rural masses. The Communists must learn how to approach the backward farmers without arousing antagonism and at the same time give firm leadership, drawing around the Committees the best active elements from among the rural toilers. In our work we must be careful to avoid "left" sectarian mistakes and revolutionary phrase-mongering, but talk to the farmers in their own language.

The hiding of the face of the Party has gone so far as actual resistance to the building of the Party in some rural areas. And some comrades have deliberately avoided in certain instances consulting with the Party for advice and support because they thought that they knew more than the Party, that the Party would hinder rather than help the work. It is essential if we are to lead the exploited farmers that the Party be built in the rural areas, that close relations be established between the comrades in the country and city.

In this connection it must be sharply pointed out that the Party districts have also failed to give adequate attention to building and guiding the Party in the rural areas, to consolidating the gains that have been made. This lack of leadership and irresponsibility on the part of the districts, has led in some instances to the collapse in the functioning of a newly formed or weak Party organization. The Extraordinary Conference gave the Party fundamental directives on our work in the countryside. Every Party member is responsible for understanding and carrying these into life.

The orientation of our work too much around the middle farmers and even in some cases toward the more well-to-do farmers is one very important reason for the weaknesses and waverings which appeared in our policy. The basing of our struggles and organization

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

directly upon the poorest and small farmers, while not neglecting the drawn in sections of the ruined middle farmers, as pointed out in the *Open Letter* and the resolution on the farmers' movement of the Extraordinary Conference, will do much to help us correct our weaknesses.

In the United Farmers League and its draft program this error is reflected. One of the serious defects of the draft is the fact that, while in words it states that it is based upon the class struggle, it has blurred over in various places the class lines and the class differentiations. This is true of both the explanatory part and the demands. It fails to explain who the small and middle farmers are. The program must indicate at the outset that it is based upon the semi-proletariat, the poorest and small farmers, who live wholly by their own labor, and that it draws in the middle farmers who, although they may hire some labor, live mainly by their own. It must split the countryside along these lines, breaking the exploited farmers away from the influence of the rich farmers, explaining that they are the everlasting enemies of the poor farmers.

The U.F.L. should be a broad mass organization, the leader and center of the left wing organizations of the toiling farmers. The draft must lay a basis for this. But the shifting between right and "left" tendencies, coupled with weaknesses in ability to give guidance and direction, hinder the U.F.L. becoming such a center. This is one reason why the National Committee of Action which possesses an aggressive leadership began to assume this role.

For instance, on the question of the possibility of a revolutionary way out of the crisis, in the first draft no mention was made of even the possibility of a workers' and farmers' government. When this draft was printed as a pamphlet, however, a condensed form of the Communist program for the revolution in the country was inserted. Both drafts were wrong on this point.

The Soviet Union and the achievements of Soviet agriculture were not mentioned in either draft.

The rural masses have an intense interest in the developments in the Soviet Union and the possibility of a way out of the crisis.

These questions cannot be neglected in the present world situation. At the same time they should not be put in the form that requires the acceptance of the revolutionary way out through a workers' and farmers' government as a condition of membership in the U.F.L. The U.F.L. must be broad enough to accept any

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

exploited farmer willing to fight on a class basis for relief from his burning grievances.

This should be made clear in our program. A toiling farmer, in order to become a member of the League, does not have to accept mechanically all of the slogans and explanations put forward by us.

Perhaps a useful method of helping to clarify this would be to place at the beginning of our program a statement showing concisely what we stand for. This could be used as a basis for membership. It would include the class struggle; the basis upon poor and small, and also sections of the middle, farmers; the alliance with the city workers; and a list of our demands. The longer explanation would follow this.

The draft in its concrete demands goes little beyond those of the united front National Committee for Action. Coupled with this is an insufficient mobilization for struggle for these demands. And the League sometimes tries to make up for this lack of aggressiveness and leadership in action, by the sectarian use of "revolutionary" language. When the *Producers News* states that by careful preparatory work, it may introduce into the united front, the "complete United Farmers League program *without offense to anyone*" (my emphasis, *Producers News*, May 26th, 1933), it shows a complete misconception of the program of the League and its relation to the united front. If the program can be completely introduced into the united front there is certainly something wrong with it. Or else the united front is in reality much narrower than it should be. Our object is to introduce specific issues into the united front. We do not want to narrow the united front down to the U.F.L. program. Secondly, we do not expect the U.F.L. program to give offense to no one. We expect a sharp fight against rich farmers and fake farm leaders as well as against finance capital directly. Although we do not want them, some of these will creep into our united front and sometimes even into the League.

If the U.F.L. is to unite the revolutionary farmers' organizations into a common fighting front, it must be explained in the program how it proposes to do this. How the initiative and freedom of affiliated and state organizations will be maintained and encouraged by the U.F.L. must be explained. State and local bodies should be encouraged to draw up their own programs to fit local conditions in addition to the adoption of the minimum national program, thus developing local initiative and leadership in struggle.

Also, while we wish to extend the U.F.L. as widely as possible, it cannot be mechanically imposed on different sections. We must

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be sufficiently flexible in organizing to allow for different names under local conditions which favor another name than the U.F.L. The class struggle program is the important item. It must contain the essential principles upon which the U.F.L. is based. Perhaps later such independent leagues can be affiliated to the U.F.L.

The war danger and the perspectives concerning war were not even mentioned in the draft. This, at a time when feverish war preparations are under way, when imperialist contradictions grow sharper, when intervention is being prepared against the Soviet Union, when the bourgeoisie is preparing to depend upon the rural masses especially for cannon fodder to be used in imperialist war and against the revolutionary movement. No aid to the toiling farmers, but millions for war supplies, is the policy.

The explanation of the crisis which the draft contains, centers too much around the question of prices and not enough around the attack of finance capital in its other concrete forms. For instance, "Tens of thousands of farmers have been robbed of their land, homes, machinery and stock, *because out of their crops they have not been able* to meet the demands of the bankers and of the tax collectors." (My emphasis.)

Since the program was written, the Roosevelt government has gone much further. The exposure of these and other plans of the bourgeoisie for "saving" the rural toilers, for loading greater burdens of the crisis on them, must be a central feature of the program. The way in which these plans work for the bankers and the rich farmers gives excellent material for exposure. Capitalists' use of the processing tax and other schemes to try to break the unity of city and rural toilers must be unmasked. The main task of the U.F.L. is to establish this unity. We can show how the cutting of production will work to the detriment of the farmer with a small acreage, and to the benefit of the rich farmer who can use machinery, fertilizer, etc., and leave the most unproductive soil unplanted. The processing tax loads a tremendous burden on the working class through a tax on food and clothing products.

While the draft gives some attention to the reformist leaders, they are our most dangerous enemies among the farmers, and require a clear, concrete exposure on the basis of their betrayals and demagogic maneuvers.

At a time when many farmers are losing their farms, when over one half of all farmers are tenants, the question of land becomes much sharper. The draft neglected too much this vital question of land. We must raise the question of the right of the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

toiling masses to the land, the question of monopoly of the land, of absentee ownership and of rent and mortgage robbery, etc., in a more thorough way.

The organizational part of the draft is quite weak. The farmers need a more thorough explanation of how to organize and carry on the struggle, of the role of the U.F.L. in building the united front and opposition within reformist farmers' organizations, its relation and responsibilities to Committees of Action, etc.

The unity of the city workers and the rural masses, the leadership of the proletariat, are passed over quite lightly and formally. This is an organic part of the program and work of the U.F.L. The whole program should bring out the basis of this unity. The necessity, value, and methods of joint action and support should be pointed out.

As the draft is being worked over, it should be reformulated in the light of the above analysis. The demands can be formulated more carefully by changes and additions, particularly the addition of the demand for the cancellation of mortgage, rent and tax debts for the poor and middle farmers. While a detailed examination of the demands cannot be taken up in this article, the following are illustrative of the kind of changes needed. The demands for relief should be for the impoverished poor and middle farmers, and should be more concrete concerning the relief itself. Class lines should be sharply indicated. We should have differentiated demands on taxes for the poor and middle farmers, and demand higher taxes for the rich farmers. Explanation concerning our attitude towards the moratorium should be included. We stand for cancellation, but where there is a mass demand for a moratorium we should support it. The demands for the youth are too general. We should be clearer in our price demand, we are not for government price regulation. The lack of agreement with the F.N.R.C. program on this question should be taken up. Our rent demands need to be worked out more carefully, taking in class lines, etc. We do not need to demand reduction of freight rates for capitalist concerns. Now, it is necessary to include demands against the New Deal. More attention must be given to different sections of the country.

A campaign to analyze and popularize the draft in the press should be immediately organized by the leading comrades of the League who can themselves participate and who can draw in rank and file members, thus developing the political understanding of these questions. This article may be taken as a beginning of such discussion.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We have made important successes in our work among the agrarian masses in the U.S.A. We have also made mistakes, but these can be corrected if the comrades in the agrarian movement take up a vigorous fight for the line of the Party against these wrong tendencies. The F.N.C.A. will be shifted firmly back onto the Committees of Action, based upon the most exploited sections of the countryside. We will continue to develop the U.F.L. on a mass basis. We will put in the center of attention the organization of the agrarian workers and the croppers of the South. The rural and city toilers will be cemented together in the common struggles. And the Party, by coming forward with its own independent program, giving independent leadership to the rural struggles, by the better and wider organization of the Party nuclei in the country and the organization of our fractions in the agrarian movement, and, most of all, by rooting itself in the decisive masses of the industrial workers, will be preparing for bigger battles ahead.

"The most burning question of the proletarian revolution was the task of winning over to its cause the toiling masses, the urban and rural petit-bourgeoisie. The fate of the revolution and the soundness of the dictatorship of the proletariat depended upon knowing exactly whom the toiling masses will support—the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, and whose reserve power they will become, whether that of the proletariat or that of the bourgeoisie. The French revolutions of 1848 and of 1871 perished mainly because in the crucial moment the reserves of the peasantry were on the side of the bourgeoisie. The October Revolution was victorious because it deprived the bourgeoisie of its reserves of peasantry, because it won these reserves over to the cause of the proletariat, because in this revolution the proletariat was the only guiding force for millions of toilers of the city and countryside."—STALIN.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1933, OF THE COMMUNIST, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1933.

State of New York
County of New York } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared W. E. Douglas, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of The Communist, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit.

1. **That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:**

Publisher, Communist Party of U. S. A., 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

Editor, Earl Browder, 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

Managing Editor, **None.**

Business Manager, W. E. Douglas, 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: **(If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)**

Communist Party of U. S. A., 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

Earl Browder, General Secretary, 50 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

A non-profit organization—**political.**

3. **That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)**

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. **That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold** or distributed through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the.... months preceding the date shown above is **(This information is required from daily publications only.)**

W. E. DOUGLAS, Business Manager.

(Seal)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 13th day of October, 1933.

MAX KITZES, Notary Public.
(My Commission expires March 30, 1934.)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What Are You Doing—

To Defend the Soviet Union?
To Aid the Victims of Hitler Fascism?
To Fight Against Social Fascism?
To Fight Against Intervention in Cuba?
To Defend the Chinese People and Chinese Soviets?

●

THESE PAMPHLETS ARE YOUR WEAPONS FOR WINNING NEW WORKERS TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT!

THE SOVIET UNION—Your Questions Answered

By Margaret Cowl — *3c*

WHO FIGHTS FOR A FREE CUBA?

By Martin Kaye *and* Louise Perry — *3c*

HANDS OFF CUBA

By William Simons — *1c*

WHO BURNED THE REICHSTAG?

Prepared by National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism — *3c*

THE MEANING OF SOCIAL-FASCISM

By Earl Browder — *5c*

SOVIET CHINA

By M. James *and* R. Doonping — *10c*

JAPANESE IMPERIALISM STRIPPED

Secret Memorandum of Tanaka—Premier of Japan — 5c

WAR IN THE FAR EAST

By Henry Hall — *10c*

Read Them! ● Spread Them!

Order from:

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Sta. D (50 East 13th St.) New York City

PRODUCED 2009 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

PAMPHLETS ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION

●

An intimate account of the daily life and work of the people in the U.S.S.R., written by Russian workers who are living in the country.
(Full List on Request)

Workers' Conditions

1.	Reconstruction of Moscow, *by L. M. Kaganovich*	.15
2.	Moscow of Tomorrow, *by A. Rodin*	.10
3.	Moscow Old and New, *by L. Kholodny*	.15
4.	Light Industry, *by A. Greishman*	.10
5.	Industrial Development under the Second Fve-Year Plan	.10
6.	Heroes of Grozny	.10
7.	Working Women in the Soviet Union	.05
8.	Protection of Labor in the U.S.S.R.	.10
9.	Soviet Main Street, *by Myra Page*	.15
10.	Soviet Sakhalin	.15
11.	New Points on the Map	.05
12.	Iron, Coal and Komsomol	.10
13.	The Land of Inventors	.15
14.	Heroes of Socialist Construction	.10

Industry

15.	Dnieprostroy	.10
16.	Kuznetzkstroi	.10
17.	From Stalingrad to Kuzbas, *by Anna Louise Strong*	.10
18.	Mangitogorsk	.10
19.	Nefte-Chala, *Short Sketches of the Fight for Oil*	.10
20.	The Development of Socialist Methods and Forms of Labor	.10

Agriculture

21.	The Families of Lartsev and Pantushin	.10
22.	Stalin to Collective Farm Shock Brigade Workers	.05
23.	Workaday Heroics	.20
24.	One of the 25,000	.10
25.	Kolkhozniki	.10
26.	Collective Farming, *by A. Yakovlev*	.10

Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R.

27.	An American Worker in a Moscow Factory	.05
28.	German Workers in a Moscow Factory	.10
29.	Industrial and Technical Intelligentsia in the U.S.S.R.	.10

The Civil War

30.	Civil War in the Taiga, *by I. Strod*	.25
31.	In a Ring of Fire	.15
32.	Bolshevik Smugglers	.10
33.	Commissar of the Gold Express	.50

Order from:

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Sta. D (50 East 13th St.), New York City

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED